K. M. George

Western Influence on Malayalam Language and Literature

SAHITYA AKADEMI

Dr. K.M. George (b. 1914) is an eminent writer and editor in English and Malayalam. He taught Malayalam literature at Madras Christian College and has been a Visiting Professor at Chicago University and Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla. He has been associated with Sahitya Akademi from its very inception and has been Vice-President of the Kerala Sahitya Akademi as well. His works have received three literary awards. He is also a recipient of the Soviet Land Nehru Award, the Fellowship of the Kerala Sahitya Academy, and Padma Shri from the President of India. He was Chief Editor of *Malayalam Encyclopaedia* and *Comparative Indian Literature*. His major publications include : *A Survey of Malayalam Literature; Western Influence on Malayalam Language and Literature; American Life through Indian Eyes; Place-names of Southern India* and *A Many-branched Tree: Perspectives of Indian Literary Tradition.*

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About this Book :

'. . . . Dr. George's comprehensive study is thus valuable, not only for throwing a revealing light on the immediate subject, but also for its relevance to the wider subject of Western influence on India as a whole . . . . It is only after inquiries have been conducted in depth, like Dr. George's covering the whole country and all the divers aspects of the problem that anything like a definitive picture for all India can be expected to emerge. But even by itself, Dr. George's study has an importance transcending Malayalam language and literature or the life and culture of the people of Kerala . . . . .'

Prof. K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar
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Dr. George Jacob
(Vice-Chancellor, Kerala University)

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By
K. M. GEORGE

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FOREWORD

It is an honour, as it is also an embarrassment, to be asked to write a Foreword to so scholarly a work as Dr. K. M. George's *Western Influence on Malayalam*, covering ground that is to me both unfamiliar and fascinating. Although my native District, Tirunelveli, borders on Kerala, and many of my relations know Malayalam and have lived for long periods in Kerala, the greater part of my own life has been spent in Karnatak and Andhra, and my remarks can have value only as those of an interested and friendly neighbour, if not ' outsider '.

Dr. George has already placed scholars under his debt by his earned memoir, ' *Ramacaritam* ' *and the Study of Early Malayalam*, and his valuable *Survey of Malayalam Literature*; and he seems also to have won a niche for himself on the contemporary literary scene in Kerala, especially with his penetrating critical essays. Besides, his biographical and critical study of Kumaran Asan, which I have just read in manuscript, is to make a worthy addition to Sahitya Akademi's ' Makers of Indian Literature Series '. His meritorious association with Sahitya Akademi, more particularly as Secretary of the Regional Office at Madras, his Visiting Professorship at Chicago University, his contacts with scholars at East-West Centre, Hawaii, and his present assignment as Editor-in-Chief of the Malayalam Encyclopædia have helped him to many fruitful encounters and abundant experience, and all this is pressed into service in his ambitious and exciting attempt to assess the Western influence on Malayalam.

' Western ', of course, is an omnibus term and comprises all the European nations and America too ; and ' Malayalam ' signifies, not merely the language and the literature, but the whole complex of race, milieu, thought, religion, culture, artistic and literary expression, politics, economics, social tensions and social change, and the confused yet more or less irresistible movement towards the future. ' Malayalam ' is the language of the people, now numbering nearly 20 millions, living in the region between the Western Ghats and the Arabian sea in South India. Till about a millennium ago, Old Tamil (or Sen Tamil) was the language of this

Dravidian region also, doubtless with distinctive local dialectica variations reflected in popular floating songs and ballads. Ilango Adigal, author of the old Tamil classic, *Silappadhikaram*, was a Chera (or we might say, Kerala) Prince : another early poem of the Sangam Age was in praise of Cheran Senguttuvan, the greatest of the Chera Kings : and Kulasekhara, hailing from this region, is celebrated as one of the Tamil Vaishnava hymnists. Indeed, the filiations between Kerala and Tamil Nad being rooted in history have happily persisted in later times, and the great Sri Narayana Guru himself composed hymns, not only in Malayalam and Sanskrit, but in Tamil as well.

The people of this colourful and romantic region, once they grew conscious of their distinctness from the neighbouring Tamils, continued for a time susceptible to Tamil influence, and then, with the coming of the Aryan Nambudiris, to the influence of Sanskrit. The arrival of Christianity and Islam was another disturbing, if also creative, force, and the impact of the languages and culture of the European maritime powers—the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, the British—was the final fateful twitch of the thread Malayalam language and literature and the culture of the Kerala region are thus a variegated and many-hued tapestry still in a process of purposive unfolding.

In the early centuries of Malayalam's distinctive career, Tamil influence continued in Court and Letters, and from this partnership of convenience between Malayalam and Tamil originated the song-mould *Pattu*, of which the most illustrious among the survivors is Cheeraman's *Ramacaritam*. The Aryan impact had in the meantime brought Sanskrit upon the scene, and out of the not unwilling marriage of Malayalam and Sanskrit arose *manipravala* (ruby and coral). Of deeper import still, like an underground river, there ran the limpid flow of native song attuned to the genius of the people. 'This Triveni (triple stream),' says Dr. George, 'flows on from the twelfth till about the fifteenth century when the Tamil stream gives away ; but the Sanskrit stream goes on. . . .' From the 16th century onwards, the breezes from the West began blowing on Kerala lowlands and highlands alike, bringing with them a disturbing yet tonic freshness and vitality. It was in the 16th century too that Ezhuthachan occurred whose *Adhyatma Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* have proved to be veritable Springs of Helicon to all subsequent Malayalam poetry. Whether in respect of this

seminal relationship to the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* and the other classics of Sanskrit or in respect of the response to the many-faceted Western impact since the 16th century, Malayalam language and literature—like other Indian languages and literatures—has followed roughly the same course of evolution from the old to the new, from the classical to the modern. It is no wonder, then, that the main conclusions of an inquiry into the Western influence on Malayalam are capable of application to many other Indian languages also, the differences being largely matters of chronology, emphasis and minutiæ. Dr. George's comprehensive study is thus valuable, not only for throwing a revealing light on the immediate subject, but also for its relevance to the wider subject of Western influence on India as a whole. An Indian reader, even when he is following Dr. George's argument and massed information and informed criticism, will also mentally recall parallelisms or variations in his own language and literature, be it Tamil, Kannada, Marathi, Hindi or Bengali. In cooperative undertakings like *Modern India and the West* edited by L. S. S. O'Malley, scholars mainly Western have attempted to evaluate with some amplitude the Western influence on India, but it is only after inquiries have been conducted in depth like Dr. George's covering the whole country and all the divers aspects of the problem, that anything like a definitive picture for all India can be expected to emerge. But even by itself, Dr. George's study has an importance transcending Malayalam language and literature or the life and culture of the people of Kerala.

The influence of Sanskrit on Malayalam has been of much longer duration, and goes far deeper, than the influence of English or the West, but even so this too is of vast and varied significance, as is very well set forth in Dr. George's present work of painstaking scholarship and research. He has arranged his immense mass of material under 'Language', 'Literature' (comprising both a chronological survey and a genre-by-genre discussion), and 'The Cultural Aspect' (almost a hold-all section), and he usually allows facts to speak for themselves instead of merely making sweeping generalisations and expecting the reader to fish out for himself the illustrative material. On the whole, it is apparently much easier to form an idea of the Western influence on the language than on the literature or culture of Kerala. Portuguese, Dutch and French seem together to account for 200 word-borrowings, as against 4000

from English, even phrases and idioms like 'Alice in Wonderland' and 'bolt from the blue' easily acquiring a Malayalam habitation. The work of the Western lexicographers—notably Dr. Gundert a German missionary—and grammarians like Dr. Caldwell, author of the well-known comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages, was of course of outstanding merit, and helped Malayalam to awaken into its unique heritage and to start fulfilling its limitless possibilities. In literature, it was the Western missionary—and presently his native counterpart—who first stimulated prose writing through the establishment of printing presses and the publication of tracts and Bible translations. But after 1880, the movement gathered momentum slowly, and translations, adaptations and original compositions came out with increasing frequency and a growing sense of self-assurance and power. Translations and adaptations seem to have increased from 9 during 1880-1900 to as many as 447 during 1948-1966—almost 50% being from English, 25% from Russian, and the rest from the other European languages.

In what is by far the longest Section—'A Generic Survey'—Dr. George has really given us, by sleight of hand as it were, a perceptive account of modern Malayalam literature. He takes us briskly through the work of the novelists, the pioneering Appu Nedungadi, Chandu Menon, C. V. Raman Pillai and the realists and revolutionaries, Kesava Dev, Thagazhi, Basheer; and of the poets, the Asan-Vallathol-Ulloor trinity, and the masters Nalappat Narayana Menon, Sankara Kurup, Changampuzha and the rest. Western 'influence' on creative literature is not easy to locate or assess, but certainly there is a general climate, an ambience, in modern writing in Malayalam (as in other regional languages) that does reveal something of the distinctive Western 'elan'. One senses it, although one cannot submit it to precise measurement or evaluation. 'Forms' and metres have doubtless been borrowed—themes too—and gestures and stances as well; above all, Western imagery—partly Biblical, partly scientific and technological—has given a new tone and temper to modern Indian poetry, including poetry in Malayalam. In the result, modern creative writing in Malayalam is full of adventure, experimentation and expectancy. And this has been sustained by a vigorous and varied background activity in the fields of literary criticism, journalism and other non-fiction prose. And thanks to the spread of literacy and the

explosion of political consciousness in Kerala, the Malayalam press is, according to Dr. George,' probably the most virile and sensitive, as it now happens to be the intellectual cockpit of warring Western ideologies '.

The last Section—' The Cultural Aspect '—attempts the intriguing task of inferring the reciprocal influence of life and letters in Kerala in the general context of growing Western influence during the last three centuries. What has happened in Kerala is of course part of the larger national drama—the shock of the Western impact, the trauma of conquest, the first stirrings of the renaissance or New Life in the 19th century, the growing assertion of self-respect and self-confidence in the 20th century, the coming of independence in 1947 and the recent frustrating experiments in reconstruction. The awakening in Kerala threw up, among others, the extraordinary socio-religious reformer Sri Narayana Guru, one of whose nearest disciples, Kumaran Asan, became in some respects the representative Malayalam poet of the modern period. Western influence has evidently seeped into every aspect of life, though not always for the better. And even after independence, the British influence has shown no signs of weakening. ' Apart from Sanskrit,' says Dr. George, ' no other language has *touched* Malayalam as deeply and as effectively as English.' And yet Malayalam literature today seems to be less in shackles to foreign mores than ever before. It has arrived at maturity, and is poised for bold leaps forward. The writer not only enjoys an honourable status in Kerala, he is even reasonably recompensed for his work. The Sahitya Pravarthaka Co-operative Society—an extensive and flourishing organisation—offers it authors a royalty of 30%, the highest in the world. Like the ' green revolution ' in Hariana and the Punjab, the ' white revolution ' in Kerala is as sensational as it augurs well for the future of Malayalam literature.

Indian Literature is one, although it is written in several languages. ' I am an Indian writer,' says Umashankar Joshi, ' though I happen to write in Gujarati.' So too might a Sankara Kurup, a Basheer or a Thagazhi truthfully affirm. Everywhere the sources of inspiration are the same : the inducements, the challenges, the provocations, the saving graces have been the same : the deep springs within, the violent breezes without, the religious, political and socio-economic currents have been more or less alike over the entire sub-continent. The hackneyed phrase ' unity in diversity'

does nevertheless hit the truth of the unity of Indian literature and culture that is much more than the mere sum of the regional literatures and cultures. The appeal of Dr. George's comprehensive and scholarly study will therefore be as much to the Malayalee as to the non-Malayalee reader : perhaps even more to the latter than to the former. By providing a pattern and also the necessary pointers, his study might help other scholars to undertake similar research-projects in respect of their own linguistic areas.

Madras, K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

24 November 1971.

PREFACE

THE unity of Indian culture is reflected in Indian literature which has a strong underlying oneness, although its outward expressions exhibit considerable variety and complexity through different languages and scripts. Two significant elements that we see in all modern Indian literatures are the deep and abiding influence of Sanskrit and the multi-faceted impact of the West. The influence of Sanskrit on modern Indian languages is clearly seen not only in the literary forms, but in phonology and vocabulary as well, whereas the Western influence is primarily limited to literature. The European spirit, through the English language, has revitalized Indian literatures increasing their range and utility.

Malayalam language and literature have been considerably indebted to Sanskrit and English. While the influence of Sanskrit goes to the very foundation of the language, that of English is seen only in the superstructure, mainly in the areas of modern literature. There are some studies which deal with the influence of Sanskrit on Malayalam ; but very little has been written about the response of Malayalam to the Western impact. Therefore, considerable spade work had to be done on this fascinating subject.

Though Kerala had the benefit of foreign contacts even from pre-historic times, recognizable influence of such contacts can be traced only from the 16th century when the Portuguese first came to Kerala. After the Portuguese came the Dutch, the French and the British. Though we had contact with several European countries and many European languages and cultures, by and large, the English represented the West, and the impact of the West to a large extent was from English and through English. The term West, in this study, denotes not only the whole of Europe including the Soviet Union, but also America.

I have had the privilege of receiving a Fulbright Travel Grant when I accepted the assignment as Visiting Professor of Linguistics in the University of Chicago in the year 1964. This gave me a

further privilege of receiving an Alumni Research Grant from the United States Educational Foundation in India during 1967. After some preliminary work on 'The Impact of the West on Indian literature' as a whole, attention was focussed on Malayalam, the language of my specialization. Some important libraries had to be visited and discussions held with critics and scholars who were conversant with the subject. A questionnaire was prepared and sent to many writers to elicit their views on various related aspects. When considerable progress was made in the collection of materials and marshalling of facts and figures, an invitation came from the East West Center, Hawaii, to spend ten months there in the capacity of a Senior Specialist. This was an excellent opportunity to further supplement the materials and write out the monograph. I left for Hawaii in October 1967 and within about six months I could complete the writing of the book. In the congenial and quiet atmosphere of the East West Center, located in the salubrious and enchanting island of Hawaii, the difficult work of writing a book became a pleasure. Let me take this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to the authorities of the East West Center; in particular, to Dr. Minoru Shinoda, Director, Institute of Advanced Projects, and to Dr. Everett Kleinjans, Chancellor of the East West Center. I am also grateful to the USEF (India) for their Research Grant.

As the title indicates, the influence of the West, both on language and literature has been dealt with in this book. The study is divided into 4 parts: (i) Language, (ii) Literature—Chronological Survey, (iii) Literature—Generic Survey, and (iv) The Cultural Aspect. More space has been devoted for literature, and justifiably so. The approach has been analytical in the main. Being the first work of its kind, the attempt was to make the study general and comprehensive rather than elaborate and in depth.

After going through the manuscript of the book, a non-Malayalee critic wondered whether modern Malayalam literature was a mere rehash of Western literature. When we concentrate on the areas of influence, naturally enough other areas are pushed to the background. This is inevitable in a work of this kind which is not a history of literature. It is true that Malayalam literature has been considerably receptive to the best in Western literature as revealed from the themes and forms it has borrowed. But other

Indian languages like Bengali, Marathi and Kannada have also been receptive more or less to the same degree. The West has influenced all our literatures directly and indirectly as a catalyst. Our aim is to assess the true nature and extent of this influence, which has been on the whole enriching.

It is always a difficult problem to indicate the correct pronunciation of Indian names in the English alphabet. The use of diacritical marks will considerably help ; but for the average reader a profusion of such marks proves an irritant. In this work a compromise has been struck. The names of authors are given in conventional spelling, because they are fairly familiar throughout India. However, the names of books which are not so familiar are transliterated with some care, though even here strict accuracy is not claimed.

At various stages of this work, many people have helped me. Quite a few scholars and writers have been good enough to return the questionnaire sent to them with their remarks. Their number is so large that it is difficult to mention individual names here. Sri John Vergis Vilanilam has rendered very valuable assistance to me in collecting materials. I am obliged to Sri K. M. Govi of the National Library, Calcutta, who helped me considerably during my visits to the Library and later, particularly in the preparation of lists of books in Malayalam which have been translated or adapted from Western sources. I am indebted to Mrs. Mariam Gould of the EWC for reading through the MS. and suggesting improvements. I am also indebted to Dr. K. Ayyappa Paniker, whose critical observations were very valuable, to Dr. Vellayani Arjunan who has helped me in compiling the lists of borrowed words from European languages and to Sri Chengarappalli Narayanan Potti for preparing the Index. Dr. P. K. Narayana Pillai, Dr. S. K. Nayar and Prof. S. Guptan Nair have gone through the manuscript and given useful suggestions. Among the non-Malayalee scholars who have gone through the manuscript and given valuable suggestions, the names of Prof. V. K. Gokak and Prof. R. K. Dasgupta deserve special mention. To all these persons, I express my sincere thanks.

Dr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, Vice-President of the Sahitya Akademi and a well-known Professor of English and specialist

in Indo-Anglian writing, has been kind enough to contribute a Foreword to this book. I am most grateful to him for the excellent Foreword which helps place the work in the correct perspective.

Trivandrum, K. M. GEORGE
November 26, 1971.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

Vowels

അ	a	ഌ	ḷ vocalised l
ആ	ā	ൡ	ḹ
ഇ	i	എ	e
ഈ	ī	ഏ	ē
ഉ	u	ഐ	ai
ഊ	ū	ഒ	o
ഋ	ṛ—vocalised r	ഓ	ō
ൠ	ṝ	ഔ	au

Consonants

The symbol '്' above a letter shows that it is a pure consonant.

ക്	k	ഖ്	kh	ഗ്	g	ഘ്	gh	ങ്	ṅ
ച്	c	ഛ്	ch	ജ്	j	ഝ്	jh	ഞ്	ñ
ട്	ṭ	ഠ്	ṭh	ഡ്	ḍ	ഢ്	ḍh	ണ്	ṇ
ത്	t	ഥ്	th	ദ	d	ധ	dh	ന	n
പ്	p	ഫ്	ph	ബ്	b	ഭ്	bh	മ്	m
യ്	y	ര്	r	ല്	l	വ്	v		
ശ്	ś	ഷ്	ṣ	സ്	s	ഹ്	h		
ള്	ḷ	ഴ്	ḷ	റ്	ṛ				

For t′ (alveolar plosive) and n′ (alveolar nasal) Malayalam uses റ and ന respectively and the sound is known by the context.

INTRODUCTION

MALAYALAM is the language of the people of Kerala, one of the nineteen States of the Indian Republic. Prior to Independence, the Malayalam-speaking region was composed of three units, the district of Malabar under the Madras Presidency and the two native states of Travancore and Cochin. In 1950, the two states were integrated under the name of Travancore-Cochin State, and in 1956 the whole of the Malayalam-speaking region became the State of Kerala as a result of the general reorganization of the states based on the major languages of the country. Kerala, though not conspicuous by its size or population, has been a focus of attention for political thinkers not only of India but of the whole world, because of the revolutionary and challenging attitude of the progressive section of its population and its bewildering and tempestuous politics.

As a political entity Kerala is no doubt of recent origin, but as a geographical region it has an early reputation. As a matter of fact, no part of India has been so widely known to foreigners as Kerala. Even as early as the 3rd millennium B.C., foreigners traded in spices with Kerala. In the days of King Solomon (1000 B.C.) the ships of Tarshish used to visit this region to get ivory, apes, and peacocks. In the early centuries of the Christian era, Romans were attracted by its pepper produce. There is mention of Kerala in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. There is also reference to it in Asoka's Rock Edict II (257 B.C.). Kerala had contacts with the Arabs, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Greeks, the Romans and the Chinese as well. Thus Kerala has been well known from very ancient times, and it attracted foreigners from various far-off places even in such bygone ages.

The Portuguese

Foreign contacts assumed a new significance with the coming of the Portuguese under the leadership of Captain Vasco da Gama in 1498. His discovery of a new route to India was an event of tremendous importance as it brought India into intimate contact with a new type of civilization. Vasco da Gama landed at Kozhi-

kode (also known as Calicut) on May 18, 1498. This discovery was one of mutual advantage to India and the West. The first among the Western nations to take advantage of it was Portugal itself, for Portugal had a long tradition of sturdy seamen who could brave the perils of maritime life.

The Portuguese maintained their contact with Kerala for over a century and a half. They found a hospitable shore in Kerala. Though they came merely as traders initially, the political condition of Kerala in those days was such as to kindle imperialistic ambitions in them. These led to the organization of a few colonies with a mixed population of Indians and Portuguese. Albuquerque, one of the viceroys of the king of Portugal, was the main architect of the scheme. He encouraged inter-marriage and employed Indians in the army. Colonies were set up in such places as Kodungalloor, Cannanore, Cochin and Quilon, all on the coast of Kerala. Outside Kerala they set up forts in Goa, Diu, and Daman.

During this period some of the Indian rulers changed their methods of warfare and started to use fire-arms against their rivals, getting the wherewithal from the Portuguese.

The Portuguese introduced improved methods of cultivation to meet the increasing demand for coconuts and spices. They also introduced new produces such as tobacco and cashew trees. The foreign trade expanded considerably and helped to increase the overall prosperity of the local inhabitants.

The general appearance of the coastal cities also changed in due course. In Cochin, Calicut, and Quilon imposing buildings were constructed on European models. The impact of European civilization was felt to a recognizable extent. On the religious side also the Portuguese were alert. By conversion and intermarriage they managed to increase the Christian population. They set up educational institutions to impart religious knowledge and provided opportunities to study Latin and Portuguese. The Kerala Christians were brought under the authority of the Pope by the well-known Synod of Diampur, convened in 1599.

The Portuguese not only taught the local people European languages, but they learnt Malayalam for an effective dialogue with the people. Their trade and proselytizing programmes would not have advanced without a grasp of the local language. St. Francis Xavier, one of the most remarkable evangelists who came to India, translated into Malayalam portions of the Bible which were printed

at Goa in 1557. He also compiled a Malayalam version of the catechism. This appears to have been the beginning of a movement of translation from foreign languages. A printing press was set up in Kerala as early as 1577, and the first book to be printed was *Kristīya Vēdōpadēśam* (Doctrina Christiana—in Tamil, 1579).

Some rulers, particularly those of Cochin, acquired proficiency in the Portuguese language and adopted it for diplomatic correspondence. But despite all this, the Portuguese influence on Indian culture was not considerable.

The Dutch

The Portuguese were engaged not only in trade, but in usurpation also. The Dutch who came later (1663-1795) were not much different. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Dutch East India Company had established a strong foothold in Ceylon. They captured the ports of Kodungallur, Cochin, and Cannanore by 1663. The Dutch were really most interested in trade, but they had to take the place of their predecessors, the Portuguese, in every way. In addition to stepping up trade they encouraged Indian industry, establishing factories in several places and bringing in their artisans to introduce new techniques. They succeeded in producing fine cotton fabrics and also improved the processes of dyeing and printing. They also encouraged salt farming and gave a boost to the cultivation of coconut and indigo.

However, in the long run, they neglected their settlements in India and concentrated on the spice of the East Indies. Eventually, they got on the wrong side of local rajas and chieftains, and when they found that they were no match for the English they finally disappeared from the scene. Their influence on the culture of Kerala was even less extensive than that of the Portuguese.

The French

As the Dutch declined in importance, the French came to the scene as rivals to the English. A French East India Company was founded in 1644. Factories were established at Surat (1668) and Masulipatnam (1669). In 1674 the French founded Pondicherry which became the capital of the French settlements in India.

As far as Kerala is concerned, their settlement in Mahe near Tellicherry is important. The well-known French governor-general Dupleix was largely responsible for a war between the French and the English on Indian soil. In the course of this seven-year war, the English captured Mahe. However, in 1763 it was restored to the French.

The French had to contend with the British who were more steady and successful, not only in military operations but in administration as well. Finally, they could retain only Pondicherry, Chandranagore, Mahe, and Karaikkal, and these remained important centres of French influence and culture until recent times.

The British

The English came into contact with India from the commencement of the seventeenth century. The English East India Company was established a few decades before the French entered the field. The maritime enterprise of the British got a fresh stimulus with the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Queen Elizabeth signed a charter on December 31, 1600, granting the English East India Company a monopoly cf trade in the Indian and Pacific oceans, except in territories occupied by the Portuguese and the Spaniards.

This was a small beginning. In due course, the Indian Ocean became a battleground whereon European nations could test their strength and strategy, or, in the words of K. M. Panikkar, 'a cockpit of naval rivalry, faithfully reflecting the position in Europe.'[1] But it was left to the British to establish political supremacy over the whole of India, though they achieved this only by the middle of the nineteenth century, after passing through several periods of adversity and prosperity.

Speaking only of Kerala, in 1793 the English had declared Malabar a province under a supervisor and chief magistrate with headquarters at Kozhikode. The remaining portions of Kerala, consisting of the native states of Travancore and Cochin, were ruled indirectly by the British. As far as the cultural influence of the West is concerned, the three regions were in the same boat.

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[1] K. M. Panikkar, *A Survey of Indian History*, p. 180.

We need not go into the details of the long British rule in India. Suffice it to say that the British domination meant several gains and losses to India ; and as far as the intellectual and cultural realm is concerned, the gain was unquestionable.

In the Company days the British merchants lived as an alien aristocracy with very little social contact with the Indian community. Hence the borrowings on either side were very limited. However, with the assumption of power by the British, the contact widened and deepened steadily. The Western way of life attracted the higher strata of the Indian society. It was considered modern and fashionable to imitate Western ways and this resulted in a transformation of social life in many a direction. For the average Indian, the English represented the West, and the impact of the West is by and large that of the English.

It is the English who infiltrated Indian culture through their educational system, literature, and general approach to life. As the culture of a nation finds expression in its writings, the important channel through which Western ideas flowed into the country was the English books popularised through the Western system of education. Education with a European slant was introduced in India in the closing decades of the eighteenth and early decades of the nineteenth centuries. European enthusiasts, ably supported by Ram Mohan Roy, encouraged the process. They considered English education to be 'the key which will open a world of new ideas.' Lord Macaulay's declaration (1835) is of great importance in this connection : 'The great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the nations of India and that all funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone.' He, however, considered this only as a transitional step. Paragraph 29 of the document reads : 'We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.' The goal is made clear here, and the means was not left vague either. There was a clear directive in

1844 that preference in public employment should be given to those educated in the English language and Western science.

The Educational Despatch of 1854 may be considered the *Magna Carta* of English education in India. It supplied the basis for subsequent development in education. It gave to educational policy not only a direction but also considerable financial assistance. As a result of this, three major universities were set up in 1857 in the presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. And the benefits of Western education were denied to no one on grounds of caste or community.

The British drained India's material wealth and in return gave her considerable intellectual wealth. What they took enriched only the recipient, whereas what they gave enriched the recipient and the donor. Our concern here is not about material matters, but about things cultural and intellectual. Hence we shall concentrate on education and culture, and by far the best field for such a study is literature.

When we say 'literature,' it cannot be dissociated from language. If language is a plant, literature is its flower. Thus the changes in the one will be reflected in the other also. The influence of the West, particularly that of the English, is patent in the modern literatures of India. We notice a similar, but comparatively less significant, influence on the Indian languages also. It is our task here to assess the nature and extent of the Western influence on the language and literature of Kerala. We shall take up the question of language first.

PART I

LANGUAGE

CHAPTER I

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS

MALAYALAM is one of the well-developed, cultivated languages of the Dravidian family. In grammar and vocabulary it is nearer to Tamil than to the other two developed languages of the family, Telugu and Kannada. However, when the impact of Sanskrit language and literature is taken into consideration, Malayalam is more akin to Telugu and Kannada than to Tamil. Perhaps it can be asserted that no other Dravidian language has been so deeply influenced by Sanskrit as Malayalam. This influence is clearly seen not only in the various literary forms, but in its phonology and vocabulary, and to a lesser extent in its morphology as well. Sanskrit has been a great benefactor of all the modern literary languages of India, and as far as Malayalam is concerned, the enriching influence of Sanskrit is discernible even as early as twelfth century, i.e., with the earliest classical poem *Ramacharitam*. This influence continued till very recently, though English came in as a good rival in the nineteenth century.

Generally speaking, the impact of Western life and letters on the language and literature of Kerala has been profound in the last one hundred years. But on the language as such, the influence is considerably less. In any case, it is worthwhile examining the various linguistic aspects so that we can assess the nature and extent of the influence.

Sound System

Orthography of Malayalam

Vowels

a (അ) ā (ആ) i (ഇ) ī (ഈ) u (ഉ) ū (ഊ)

ṛ (ഋ) ṝ (ഋ) ḷ (ഌ) ḹ (ഌ) e (എ) ē (ഏ)

ai (ഐ) o (ഒ) ō (ഓ) au (ഔ)

Consonants

	Unvoiced		Voiced		Nasal
	Unaspirate	Aspirate	Unaspirate	Aspirate	
Gutturals (Velars)	k ക	kh ഖ	g ഗ	gh ഘ	ṅ ങ
Palatals	c ച	ch ഛ	j ജ	jh ഝ	ñ ഞ
Retroflex (Cerebrals)	ṭ ട	ṭh ഠ	ḍ ഡ	ḍh ഢ	ṇ ണ
Alveolar	t' ∟ (ഠ)	-	-	-	ṅ ന
Dentals	t ത	th ഥ	d ദ	dh ധ	n ന
Labials	p പ	ph ഫ	b ബ	bh ഭ	m മ

Semivowels—continuants		*Fricatives*	
Palatal	y (യ)	Glottal	h (ഹ)
Retroflex	ṛ (ഠ), ḷ (ഴ)	Palatal	s' (ശ)
Alveolar	r (ര)	Retroflex	ṣ (ഷ)
labio-velar	v (വ)	Dental	s (സ)

Laterals

Retroflex (flapped)	ḷ (ള)
Dental	l (ല)

The letters that Malayalam has borrowed from Sanskrit are those for the aspirates and the fricatives. This borrowing must have taken place at least by the thirteenth century. By and large, each sound is represented by a separate script. It is true that, comparatively speaking, Malayalam has a large number of phonemes and most of the important sounds are found in it. This is generally true of other Indian languages as well. However, when you take into consideration the phonemic system of the English language, you will meet with the difficulty of precise translitera-

tion. If you transliterate English words in Malayalam script and ask an English-educated and a non-English-educated Malayalee to read them, you will notice considerable difference.

It is generally believed that English has not affected or added to the sound system in Malayalam. We can subscribe to this view only with reference to the non-English-educated Malayalee or, rather, the illiterate one. Even he is sometimes influenced. As far as the educated Malayalee is concerned, the sound system has received appreciable addition though no visual symbols have been accepted for such additions.

Vowels

1. Pad, Bag, Bank — This is neither the 'ā' (ആ) nor the 'ē' (ഏ) of Malayalam language.

2. Sop, Soap, Rod, Road — The non-English-educated Malayalee cannot distinguish between the 'o' sounds in each group.

There is no way of representing the different 'o' sounds in Malayalam script :

Sop (സോപ്പ്) Soap (സോപ്പ്)
Rod (റോഡ്) Road (റോഡ്)

3. Pay (പെ). This is pronounced as *pē* and not *pei*.

Consonants

The most important addition which is recognized by all is 'f'. This phoneme is used when words like the following are uttered : *fan, sofa, photo, film, fashion*. The nearest representation in script in Malayalam is 'ph' (ഫ), but this is considerably different from 'f'. Quite a few of the non-English-educated persons also are familiar with the sound 'f' now.

There are a few other consonantal sounds, which have been borrowed into Malayalam, as for example :

the single alveolar 't' as in *tea, time, dentist, teacher*, etc. [Some people still use 'ṭ' (ട) instead.] The double

alveolar *t't'* already exists in Malayalam as in *mut't'am* (courtyard).

'd' in pad (ഡ് is only an approximation.)

'l' in college [This is neither 'ല' (ല) nor 'ള' (ള).]

Even the educated Indian is not quite familiar with or sure of the variety of accented syllables in English. Many a time he Indianises the pronunciation of English words. But the well educated, by and large, know the pronunciation and try to reproduce it in the English loan words. However, in our languages there is no way of correctly representing the variety of sounds in English. Take for instance the 'ā' in *father, fate, gall, fact.* Each is different. The educated Malayalee introduces some of these sounds. But we have not officially recognised them, so to speak, as we do not have separate symbols to indicate them. However, one must concede that the sound system of the Malayalam language has been influenced by the West, particularly by English. Even when we borrow non-English European terms (as German and French) we usually follow the English pronunciation, which occasionally varies from the original.

The following tendencies are found as a result of English influence :

1. 'ā' taking the place of 'a'

Ramakrishnā Mission, Kēraḷā Government, Kēraḷā University, etc., where short 'a' is enough according to Malayalam *sandhi* rules. Some go to the extent of using *Kēraḷāyil* instead of *Kēraḷattil* (Kerala is the anglicised form of Kēraḷam).

2. Morpho-phonemics—in vowels (space between words)

A Malayalam sentence is written in three ways indicating the space between words :

English style—atu tet't'u alla ennu eṅikku tōnnunnu.

Sanskrit style—atu tet't'allenneṅikku tōnnunnu.

Malayalam style—atu tet't'alla enneṅikku tōnnunnu.

The Sanskrit tendency is to combine the words, whereas English shows every word separately. Malayalam has struck a compromise, and in this the English influence can be noticed.

Morphological Features

The morphological structure of a language is not easily affected by a foreign tongue, unless the influence is dominant and of long duration. In the case of Malayalam, the Western tongues, particularly English, have influenced a few aspects of its morphology to a noticeable extent. It seems necessary to sound a note of warning at this stage and state that influencing is different from borrowing. Malayalam has not borrowed any grammatical elements from the European languages. However the structure of English has influenced the structure of Malayalam in certain aspects. In this influence what is seen is that the innate potentiality of Malayalam has assumed certain new dimensions on account of the impact of English grammar. It is sometimes difficult to divide grammar into morphology and syntax. For instance, the passive voice is as much a matter of syntax as a morphological feature.

1. *The passive voice*

According to the genius of the Malayalam language the normal order should be :

Subject, object, verb.

Rama / a snake / killed. (Raman / oru pāmpiṅe / konnu)

The word for snake in Malayalam takes a suffix *ṅe* to indicate that the snake is the object. [*iṅ* (medial) + *e* (accusative suffix)]

In English the subject and object are determined by their position and not by any suffix or preposition. For example :

Rama killed a snake.

A snake killed Rama.

Here the words are the same but the order indicates the subject and object. Sometimes it is necessary to change the voice and say :

A snake was killed by Rama. (Oru pāmpu Rāmaṅāl Kollappeṭṭu)[1]

Here the importance of the subject is deliberately reduced.

The equivalent for *was killed* is achieved in Malayalam by adding a suffix *peṭṭu* (past tense of *peṭuka*) to the verb *kolluka* e.g., *Kollappeṭṭu*. *Peṭuka* literally means get involved or suffer. The addition of this suffix and conversion into passive voice is not a new phenomenon. We see the usage in old Malayalam prose, but

[1]ഒരു പാമ്പു രാമനാൽ കൊല്ലപ്പെട്ടു.

it is considered to be not quite normal, not quite befitting the genius of the language. It is however natural to have the passive voice when the subject is avoided. The use of the passive voice must have gained currency initially on account of Sanskrit influence and later been made popular by English influence. The large mass of translation from English, both of literary works and national and international news, has inundated Malayalam prose with passive voice constructions. It has thus become normal in current prose, though good prose writers will take care to avoid it unless really necessary.

2. *The relative pronoun*

The relative pronoun is what is termed *Vyapēkṣaka Sarvanāmam*[1] in Malayalam. This usage is rare in the spoken form.[2] It must have come into Malayalam first from Sanskrit (where it is quite common) and been further strengthened as translation from English became such a common affair. Kuttikrishna Marar is of the opinion that the relative pronoun in Malayalam is a borrowed feature, as is the passive voice.[3]

He who heard it : Kēṭṭatāro avaṅ
Kēṭṭatu ē(yā) toruvaṅō avaṅ[4]

That which happened : Sambhaviccatu ēto atu
Sambhaviccatu ē(yā) tonnō atu[5]

Who and *which* in English and *yah* or *yat* in Sanskrit now have Malayalam equivalents, *yātoru*, *ētoru*, and *ētō*. These are of comparatively recent origin. Normally the function of the relative pronoun is performed by the relative participle (*Kēṭṭavaṅ*, *sambhaviccatu*) except when there is need to emphasise the pronoun.

3. *The indefinite article*

The definite and indefinite articles perform distinct roles in English. In Malayalam there is no equivalent for the definite

[1] വ്യപേക്ഷകസർവ്വനാമം.

[2] The Dravidian languages have no relative pronouns ; instead they use relative participles for the same function.
Vide Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 44.

[3] Kuttikrishna Marar, *Malayala Śaili* (1945) pp. 66-67.

[4] കേട്ടതാരോ അവൻ. കേട്ടതു് ഏ(യാ)തൊരുവനോ അവൻ.

[5] സംഭവിച്ചതു് ഏതോ അതു്.
സംഭവിച്ചതു് ഏ(യാ)തൊന്നോ അതു്.

article *the*. To get the effect of the definite article, Malayalam uses '*ā*' (അ) which is an equivalent of *that*. However, for the indefinite article, the case is somewhat different. Take the following example :

Rama was bitten by *a* snake.

Before the noun *snake* an article is necessary in English. But in Malayalam the sentence may be written in two ways :

Rāmaṅe pāmpu kaṭiccu.

Rāmaṅe oru pāmpu kaṭiccu.

Oru (ഒരു) means *one* or *a*. But here the word *pāmpu* alone, with no article before it, is sufficient to express the indefinite meaning. Since normally there is no possibility of Rama being bitten by more than one snake, there is no need to add *oru*. However, if you do add it, it is not considered a mistake. Both in spoken and written form *oru* is being accepted now without question. This is mainly due to its frequent and indiscriminate use by our translators from English.

Here is an example of the careless use of *oru* :

Whether a boy or an adult, he should obey the rules.

Translation : (*Oru*) *bālaṅ āyālum* (*Oru*) *mutiṛnnavaṅ āyālum niyamam aṅusarikkaṇam*

In this example, the use of *oru* is really awkward in Malayalam. But such usages are frequently seen in current periodicals. This is the result of a kind of mechanical, indiscreet translation.

In some cases the use of *oru* is necessary, as in the following example :

A visitor came to my house. (*Oru sandarśakaṅ eṅte vīṭṭil vannu.*)

Here *oru* has to be used ; otherwise the visitor (*sandarśakaṅ*) acquires a definite role such as Mayor or Governor. But in the following sentence, *oru* is unnecessary :

A visitor should not enter this room. (*Oru sandarśakaṅ ī muṛiyil praveśiccukūṭa*).

This is a generalized statement. Here, as in English, it is more idiomatic to use the plural *sandarśakaṛ* (visitors).

4. *Reflection of 'ard'*

If you examine English sentences, in addition to the definite and indefinite articles, a word you find frequently is the

conjunction *and*. As an example let us take a verse from the New Testament :

> And he arose and came to his father. But when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck and kissed him.—*St. Luke* 15 : 20.

The suffix in Malayalam to get the effect of the conjunction is *um*. If you were somehow to introduce six *ums* in translating this verse, it would be really awkward. In the popular Malayalam translation there is not a single *um* and that is how it should be.

Let us examine a less cumbersome example :

Rama went to the shop *and* bought a pencil *and* returned.

The literal translation is :

Raman pīṭikayil pōkayum, oru pencil vāṅṅikkayum tiriccu varikayum ceytu.

Here, *um* is used three times. This is an awkward Malayalam sentence, though grammatically correct. A more idiomatic translation would be :

Raman pīṭikayil pōyi, oru pencil vāṅṅi tiriccu vannu.

There is no *um* in this sentence. It is avoided by converting the verbs *went* and *bought* into *viṅṅeyeccam* (adverbial participles). However, some translators from English have no time to bother with this device for idiomatic rendering and they often introduce these conjunctions unnecessarily. This is no doubt a side effect of the English sentence construction, brought to bear upon the Malayalam language.[1]

Here are a few wrong usages taken from Malayalam periodicals which show the influence of ' and ' :

(1) *Pālppoṭiyum gōtampum vitaraṇam.*
(Distribution of milk powder and wheat)

The proper translation should have been

Pālppoṭiyuṭeyum gōtampiṅṅeyum vitaraṇam.

(2) *Paccayum cukappum niṟam* (Green and red colour)
It should have been rendered

Paccayum cukappum āya niṟam.

In English, the qualifying word would apply to nouns connected with the conjunction ' and '. For instance, in the expression ' Japanese language and literature ', the term ' Japanese ' qualifies literature also. However, in the Malayalam rendering

[1] Kuttikrishna Marar, Malayāla S'aili.—p. 7.

'*Japan bhāṣayum sāhityavum,*' *sāhityam* (literature) stands independently. But by association Japan qualifies *sāhityam* also.

Take another example :

Cūtum ṭaṇuppum veḷḷam oḻukunna vāṣbēsin

(The wash basin which runs hot and cold water.)

This is a wrong usage. The correct usage is

cūtuveḷḷavum taṇutta veḷḷavum oḻukunna vāṣ bēsin

Here *veḷḷam* (water) is used twice.

5. *Verbs of the type is, are*

The verb group *is, was, are, were* has a parallel in Malayalam. Other Dravidian languages do not have a similar equivalent applicable in all such contexts.

God is love.—*Deivam sṅēham taṅṅe.*

This is a book.—*itu oru pustakam ākunnu* (*āṇu*).

He is my brother.—avaṅ eṅṭe sahōdaraṅ āṇu.

The English verb *is* has more than one form in Malayalam. You can use either *taṅṅe* (തന്നെ) or *attṛe* (അത്രെ) or *ākunnu* (ആകുന്നു). The latter takes the form *āṇu* (ആണു) or, colloquially, *a* (ആ) (nasalized). Without one or another of the forms, the sentence will be deemed incomplete.

The verbs showing ' being ' must have taken root in Malayalam quite early in its evolution, and along with other languages of the family it must have discarded the usage. It is possible that English must have been in a way responsible for its revival. However, without further research, it will be premature to draw any conclusions in this regard.

6. *Misuse of* tāṅ, taṅṭe *etc.*

In English the pronouns *he* and *she* are so frequently met with, but no monotony is felt as these cover a wide range of persons both common and respectable. In Malayalam there are no such all-purpose equivalents. The pronoun *he*, for instance, takes the words '*avaṅ*', *ayāḷ* and *addēham* depending on the status of the person referred to. There is also an additional form *tāṅ* which will substitute any of these within a sentence. It cannot however function as a subject as it is only a dependent pronoun. But translators tend to use the term *tāṅ* indiscriminately, sometimes as independent subjects and at other times when they are unnecessary according to the genius of the language.

Ex : (1) He said unto his disciples : (St. Luke 17 : 1)
avan taṅṅe siṣyaṅmārōṭu paṛaññatu.
(2) He called his mother.
avañ taṅṅe ammaye viḷiccu.
taṅṅe in both these cases is superfluous.

The use of *tāṅ* as a proper equivalent for 'he' when it functions as a subject is also met with in Malayalam, both colloquial and written. The influence of English seems to be responsible for this wrong usage.

7. *The projection of English prepositions*

In the place of prepositions in English, the Dravidian languages normally use a post-position or suffix. In some cases we notice the definite influence of English on the suffixes :[1]

A. *Superfluous suffixes.*

(1) *For :* വേണ്ടി (vēṇṭi)
Waiting *for* the Mahatma : *Mahātmāviṅu vēṇṭi kāttirikkuka*
It is sufficient to say 'mahātmāviṅe kāttirikkuka'.

(2) *On* or *about* : പറ്റി (*Paṭṭi*) or കുറിച്ചു (*kuṛiccu*)
Dwelt *on* the subject *viṣayatte paṭṭi caṛcca ceytu.*
It is sufficient to say 'viṣayam caṛcca ceytu'.
Thought *about* the matter *ā kāryatte paṭṭi (kuṛiccu) cinticcu.*
It is sufficient to say '*ā kāryam cinticcu*'.

(3) *With, by :* കൊണ്ടു (koṇṭu)
Room filled with smoke *Puka koṇṭu niṛañña muṛi-*
It is sufficient to say '*Puka niṛañña muṛi*'.

The suffixes referred to above are superfluous.

B. *Change of suffixes.*

He sat on the bench : *avaṅ beñciṅ mēl irunnu.*
avaṅ beñcil irunnu.

The correct Malayalam idiom is '*avaṅ bencil irunnu.*' *il* (ഇൽ) has been changed to *mēl* (മേൽ) (*in* into *on*) because of English influence. According to correct English, you sit *on* the bench and lie *in* bed. For both these, Malayalam has only one post-position *il* which equates with the English preposition 'in'.

[1] Kuttikrishna Marar, Malayāḷa Śaili.—pp. 25-30.

C. *Equivalent of the preposition* 'of'.

'Obedience of faith' (Rom. 1:6): *viśvāsattiṅu aṅusaraṇam varuka.*

This is a mechanical translation connecting the two clear words *obedience* and *faith* with the preposition *of*. No one can understand the meaning in Malayalam because of the application of this preposition.

For Peace of God : *deivattiṅte samādhāṅam*

or

deiva samādhāṅam

is all right. The genitive case is correct here. However, in the English phrase *God of peace* the translation *samādhāṅattiṅt'e deivam* does not seem to be all right. The genitive case is not suitable here, for the real sense is that the source of peace is God. It should be translated *samādhāṅam ākunna deivam* or *samādhāṅattiṅt'e prabhavam āya deivam.*

While translating *God of peace, God of glory, God of love, children of wrath,* and *children of disobedience,* the Malayalam Bible has imposed the equivalent of the English preposition *of*. This unidiomatic usage has gradually percolated the confines of Bible translation.

D. *Equivalent of the preposition* 'into'.

Look into the matter :	ā kāryattil śṛadha vaykkuka.	A
	ā kāryam śṛadhikkuka.	B
Take into consideration :	pariganaṅayil vaykkuka.	A
	pariganikkuka.	B
Put into practice :	prayōgattil varuttuka.	A
	prayōgikkuka.	B

In most cases, usage '*B*' would be all right. But usage '*A*' is adopted mainly to accommodate the suffix *il* which is an equivalent of the English preposition *into*.

II. *Other categories*

A. *Changes on account of literal translation of English*

(1) *Numbers*

Partly resulting from Sanskrit and partly owing to English influence, the plural suffix *kaḷ* (കൾ) is added in many cases these days, when it is unnecessary according to conventional grammar.

Ex : Hundred books : *nūṟu pustakaṅṅaḷ* is permissible, though *nūṟu pustakam* would be enough.

In the case of animate objects, it is optional to use the plural suffix *kaḷ* when preceded by a number. According to the standard Malayalam Grammar—*Kèraḷapāṇiṅiyam*, plural suffixes are not to be added for inanimate objects. But the author Rajaraja Varma himself uses the suffix in the same book, as in *āru nayaṅṅaḷ*. For objects having indigenous Malayalam names, it is awkward to use the suffix *kaḷ* in such instances. Ex : *Pattu tēṅṅakaḷ* (ten coconuts). However, the modern tendency is to use the suffix for borrowed nouns. Ex : *nālu upaṅyāsaṅṅaḷ* (four essays), *mūnnu kāṛukaḷ* (three cars), *raṇṭu kathakaḷ* (two stories) etc. This sounds quite natural, because we are conditioned by English morphology.

(2) *Tenses in English and Malayalam*

Certain tense forms in English do not have an exact parallel in Malayalam. But we produce some equivalents, and solve the problem. An example is given below :

come	came	had come
varunnu	*vannu*	*vannirunnu*

Irunnu, the suffix added to give the effect of the distant past, means literally *sat. irikkuka* originally meant ' to be '. Though it is an old auxiliary verb, in modern language the usage has become quite frequent. In translation from English, *irunnu* appears many times and spoils the trim appearance of the language.[1]

Ex : It would have been good, if it had been done.

(*atu ceytirunneṅkil nannāyirikkumāyirunnu.*)

Syntax

1. *The word arrangement*

According to the genius of the language, the natural word order for Malayalam is :

Subject, object, verb
Raman Krishnaṅe aṭiccu.

The order in English is :

Subject, verb, object.
Rama hit Krishna.

Thus, Malayalam sentences normally end in a verb. Exceptions are rare and are made only with sufficient reason according

[1] Ibid., p. 25.

to the conventional style. However, nowadays we find more stylists adding something after the verb, sometimes a few words, sometimes a whole clause. Sometimes this serves to reduce the dull uniformity and brings the structure nearer to the spoken form, but quite often it degenerates to a stylistic fad. This freedom in word arrangement in modern prose is to some extent a result of the influence of English prose.

2. *Clause structure*

Complex sentences and an elaborate clause structure are not common features of Malayalam. In old works, we get only plain, straightforward sentences. Even though some sentences are long, their structure is simple. But the richness and variety of English clause structure has influenced Malayalam. The use of punctuation marks has also helped us to do this.

A. *Position of subordinate clause*

English places the subordinate clause after the main clause. Malayalam usage is the reverse. But now and then we find modern Malayalam following the English clause order. This may also be on account of the spoken form influencing the sophisticated style of sentence construction.

B. *Parenthetical clauses and expressions*

The genius of the Malayalam language does not permit the expression of ideas in parenthetical clauses. Yet this has become quite common in modern prose. What is given in parenthesis is usually given in a separate sentence in Malayalam.[1]

Other Features

1. *Punctuation*

Punctuation is the visual representation of the meaningful pauses in a discourse consisting of sentences. Malayalam did not bother about this till the introduction of printing. The most important punctuation marks are the full-stops and commas. Malayalam could manage even without these and indicate the pauses in the structure itself. Every sentence ends with a finite

[1] എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം—അതിന്നു പിൻബലമുണ്ടോ എന്നെനിക്കറിഞ്ഞുകൂടാ—ഞാൻ വ്യക്തമായി പ്രസ്താവിച്ചു കഴിഞ്ഞു.

verb which is clear. In place of commas, in the conventional structure there will be particles like *um*. Even after printing was introduced, for quite some time, only the full-stop was used. When prose became a popular medium of written expression, its structure became diversified. In oral expression, we get clarity and effect by the judicious use of pause, which is as important as the words uttered. This is effectively represented by the various punctuation marks available in English. Malayalam has borrowed this from English. Rev. George Matthan, in his Grammar of Malayalam (1863) uses punctuation marks copiously, and there were others familiar with English who used punctuation marks during the nineteenth century. However, it is A.R. Rajaraja Varma who dwelt at length on the subject. His *Sāhitya Sāhyam* not only advocated and popularised the English system of punctuation, but also gave it an *imprimatur*. He says, 'This system of using symbols which removes doubt and ambiguity in sentence construction has been accepted by us from English'.[1]

The following symbols were recommended by him for writers and printers, and gradually they have come into use.

1. Aṅkuśam (comma)
2. Rōdhiṅi (semi-colon)
3. Bhittika (colon)
4. Biṅdu (full-stop)
5. Valayam (bracket)
6. Uddharaṇi (quotation marks)
7. Kāku (question mark)
8. Vikṣēpiṇi (exclamation mark)
9. Sṛmkhala (hyphen)
10. Rēkha (dash)
11. Viślēṣam (apostrophe)

In addition to the above, he has also recommended for acceptance a symbol used only in Sanskrit, viz., the *praślēṣam*. This is useful when quotations from Sanskrit are given. For quite a long time, of the punctuation symbols in English, only the comma and the full-stop were in common use. Now modern writers use all the symbols, and many prefer to use the English terms like 'comma' and 'colon' rather than the proposed Malayalam equivalents.

2. *Abbreviation techniques*

The art of abbreviation was not unknown to the Indian mind. The highly intricate *sūtṛās* of Sanskrit and the *vṛttis* which are necessary to explain the *sūtṛās* are well known. These have been

[1] A. R. Rajaraja Varma—Sāhitya Sāhyam, p. 302.

adapted to some extent in the modern Indian languages. However, of late the abbreviation techniques imported from the West have almost completely eclipsed the Indian system.

In Malayalam, to indicate a whole word, we used to take either the first syllable or the last syllable of the word.

Ex. രൂ. ച. കാ. (For രൂപാ, ചക്രം, കാണ്ഡം).
ക. ണ. സ. (For ഉദ്ധൃതിക, അണ, വൈസ).

But always it was a whole syllable and not a mere phoneme. It was the most natural thing to do, when the representation of a consonant was always with the addition of the vowel *a*.

The English method of representing the second example given above is *Rs. as. ps.* Here the first and last letters of the words are chosen. There are various techniques of abbreviation followed in the English language ; the more popular ones are either taking the initial letters only, like *A.D.*, *B.C.*, or combining a few initial characters, like *adj.* (adjective), *fem.* (feminine). Malayalam has borrowed, by and large, the technique of using the initial letters.

They can be grouped as follows :

(1) using the first one or two syllables of the Malayalam word

Ex : നാ. —for നാമം. (noun).
ഉദാ. ,, ഉദാഹരണം. (example).

(2) using the English equivalent of the initial Malayalam phoneme.
എസ്സ്. എൻ. ഡി. പി. (S.N.D.P.) for the full form '*Śrī Nārāyaṇa Dharma Paripālaṅa.*'

(3) using the English abbreviation in the Malayalam script.
എ.ഐ.സി.സി. (A.I.C.C.)—All India Congress Committee.
വൈ.എം.സി.എ. (Y.M.C.A.)—Young Men's Christian Association.

What is important here is that the initial English letters are used in all cases except the first category and not the first syllable of the Indian words. Take for instance the name of K. M. Panikkar. The full name is :

Kāvālam Mādhava Paṇikkar.
Kā.Mā. Paṇikkar is not used.

In Tamil, however, quite a few persist in using the initial syllable of the Tamil word just as Malayalam uses നാ. for നാമം.

Ex : *Mā.-Pō. Sivagnāṅam*
Mū. Varadarājaṅ.

The English system of using a phoneme instead of a whole syllable is very convenient, particularly when intricate mathematical ideas are rendered into simple formulae, like $E=MC^2$.

CHAPTER II

VOCABULARY AND IDIOM

Vocabulary

WHEN one language comes into contact with another, the easiest exchange takes place in the domain of vocabulary. There is no developed language in the world which has not borrowed words from other languages. Now, substantives can be appropriated as easily as new clothes are worn. The greatest example of such assimilation from diverse sources is the English language itself. Malayalam has been fortunate enough to come into contact with many languages of differing backgrounds and genealogical connections. The greatest influence in its vocabulary is no doubt that of Sanskrit. Then we have Persian, Arabic, Hindustani, and other oriental languages which have enriched Malayalam to a recognizable extent.

Coming to the European languages, the greatest influence is no doubt that of English. It has been roughly reckoned that something like four thousand English words have been accepted as part of the language, and the borrowing is still going on. Malayalam has also drawn from Portuguese, Dutch, and French, but these borrowings are matters of history as there is hardly any contemporary influence.

About two hundred words have been woven into the fabric of Malayalam from the three last-named languages. Some words thus borrowed are common to all the three, while some others are common to two of them. It is, therefore, difficult to state categorically in every case whether a word has been taken from this language or that until further investigation is carried out. However, it is reasonable to accept the view that more words have been borrowed from Portuguese than from French or Dutch, as the Portuguese influence was earlier and more dominant. The few scholars who have tried to list these loan words have paid little attention to Dutch and French.[1] On a rough estimate we can say that Malayalam has borrowed about 150 words from Portuguese,

[1] M. Seshagiri Prabhu, *Vyākaraṇamitṛam*; K. Godavarma, *Kēralabhāṣāvigñāñīyam*.

about 30 from French, and about 10 from Dutch. Almost all such words are nouns.

Given below are selected examples which indicate the nature and extent of such borrowings. A fuller list is given in Appendix A.

Portuguese

Portuguese	*Malayalam*	*Meaning*
almario	alamāra	cupboard
āspatri	āśupatṛi	hospital
banian	bańiyań	undershirt
jenela	jeńal	window
caju	kāśu	cashew tree
codeira	kaśēra	chair
cruz	kuriśu	cross
copo	kōppa	cup
lanterna	lānteṛ (rāntal)	lantern
mesa	mēśa	table
padre	pādiri	clergyman
pena	pēńa	pen ; quill
tea	tēyila	tea

Dutch

Dutch	*Malayalam*	*Meaning*
appotheker	appōthekiri	doctor (pharmacist)
bioscoop	bioscop	cinema
copie	kōpi	copy
kaart	kārd	card
kakkus	kakkūs	latrine
kalkoen	kalkkam	turkey
ketel	kēttal	kettle
schroef	skrū	screw
troef	turup	trump

French

French	*Malayalam*	*Meaning*
avocado	avakka	avocado
banc	bańku	bench

caleçon	kaḷasam	trousers
compagnie	kompañña (kumpañña)	company
cuillère	kulil (kayil)	spoon
maire	mēr	mayor
aperasse	pappraśśa	wastepaper (not in order)

English

As already pointed out, the number of words which Malayalam has borrowed from English is so large that it would be difficult to give a complete list. The borrowing is a continuing process, and even recently compiled Malayalam dictionaries do not give all the words that have come into currency. The contemporary periodicals import a large number of English words. Just to show the main areas of borrowing, a random sampling is given below. A few of these words are found in one or more of the other European languages referred to above, but the borrowing must have been from English.

1. *Refreshments*

   brandy, whiskey, cake, ice, ice-cream, soda, lemonade, cutlet, omelette, butter.

2. *Dress*

   blouse, knickers, frock, bodice, petticoat, sweater, shirt, coat, suit, underwear, handloom, silk, voile, nylon.

3. *Ornaments, toilet, etc.*

   necklace, chain, brooch, locket, safety-pin, hairpin, button, powder (talcum), scent, cream, soap, toothpaste, brush, razor, blade.

4. *Furniture, utensils, etc.*

   bench, stool, bag, easy chair, handbag, cushion, desk, light, bulb, radio, timepiece, clock, fan, kettle, plate, bucket, glass, saucer.

5. *Building*

   bungalow, balcony, gate, corridor, bath-room, bed room, pipe, tap, latrine, cement, concrete, polish, varnish, wash-basin.

6. *Stationery*

paper, pin, pencil, globe, book, chalk, gum, clip, cover, diary, duster, file, paper-weight, punch.

7. *Electricity*

switch, wire, current, metre, connection, loudspeaker, mike, plug, point, unit, dial, television, film.

8. *Business*

agent, account, bill, office, bonus, business, commission, supply, order, store, trademark, broker, tender, dividend, share, market, branch, exchange, licence, permit, rate, tax, quota, painter, driver, binder, contractor, engineer.

9. *Administration*

president, governor, minister, adviser, secretary, superintendent, clerk, cabinet, assembly, embassy, parliament, budget, judge, collector, advocate, pension, increment, suspension, dismissal, report, record, temporary, permanent, transfer, tour, arrest, fine, note, notice, memo.

10. *Politics*

democracy, socialism, communism, league, congress, union, vote, nomination, dictator, election, party, strike, boycott.

11. *Education*

school, college, university, teacher, professor, lecturer, vice-chancellor, headmaster, principal, registrar, senate, syndicate, fees, fine, board, hostel, class, auditorium, pass, fail, result, degree, diploma.

12. *Literature*

drama, novel, review, tragedy, comedy, realism, surrealism, symbolism, mysticism, classicism, masterpiece.

13. *Transport*

railway, train, express, mail, berth, seat, bus, signal, taxi, brake, speed, guard, ticket, station, platform, conductor, cleaner.

14. *Machinery*

motor, car, workshop, engine, petrol, nut, typewriter.

15. *Medicine*

doctor, compounder, nurse, matron, midwife, plaster, injection, enema, mixture, post-mortem, dispensary, ambulance, operation, tonic, drug, (all imported medicines), typhoid, malaria, influenza, flu, cholera, piles, plague, asthma, ulcer, pleurisy.

16. *Military*

All ranks of officers in the army, navy, and air force. For other ranks Indian names are used.

17. *General*

restaurant, menu, hotel, tea shop, coffee shop, lodge, rent, at home, garden party, fashion, stunt, club, interview.

The above examples also indicate the areas in which English words have penetrated into Malayalam. In science and technology a very large percentage of words have been borrowed from English, but when you come to natural objects such as plants and birds, the borrowing is hardly significant. The words given above represent only a fraction of the actual number accepted. Though these words are current in Malayalam, it does not mean that everyone of them has been borrowed because there were no equivalents in the language. In quite a few cases there are suitable equivalents and both are in currency. However, the English influence has been so strong that in some cases the indigenous word has almost been replaced by the foreign word. This is especially so, when other forms of the word have not developed so fully in the language. Take for instance, *sulphur*. In Malayalam *gandhakam* has been long in use to denote sulphur. But for *sulphur dioxide*, *sulphuric acid*, *sulphurous acid*, etc., there has been no such equivalent. No doubt, equivalents derived with the help of Sanskrit have been suggested for the use of educational institutions during the last two decades. But those educated through the English medium prefer to use the terms current in the English language. Sometimes it is a question of fashion, though most often it is a matter of convenience.

From the above discussion, it is clear that foreign vocabulary has penetrated the vitals of Malayalam. Therefore, it follows that the language cannot function effectively without foreign vocabulary. As for the future, most of the forward looking educated sections

advocate the trend 'borrow and grow,' while the purists raise their brow. They want to eschew the foreign elements and clean up the language as far as practicable. They feel that the language as it is has sufficient resources for expressing almost anything; one must only have the patience and scholarship to delve into the past. For a new idea or a new contraption, they would prefer to coin a new term rather than to borrow one from a foreign language. There is a point in what they say, the relevance of which will be better appreciated when one realises the abandon with which translators from English, particularly in the field of journalism, do their work.

Phrases and Idioms

A phrase is defined as two or more words that can function as a grammatical structure to give a specific meaning. Take for instance the phrase *hard up*. It conveys a meaning which is not the sum total of the two words *hard* and *up*, but a derived meaning which is peculiar to that language. If you translate the two words into another language you will not get the meaning of the phrase. We can also say that the usage *hard up* is an English idiom. But usually idioms go a step further. *To build castles in the air* or *to fish in troubled waters* are idioms which project a finished and picturesque idea. Idioms and phrases have a meaning different from the literal, and the meanings these convey are considered a characteristic peculiarity of the language. In other words, they reflect the genius of the language, and are more often than not difficult to transplant in a new language with a different background. However, some idioms do cross the barriers between languages, particularly when the languages are in long and intimate contact with one another. This has actually happened in the case of Malayalam.

There are Western idioms and phrases which have taken root in Malayalam, and there are others which are under trial. There is also a third category the source of which is open to doubt. A few representative examples are given below.[1]

1. *Western idioms that have taken root in Malayalam*

   Alice in wonderland.
   Aid without strings.
   Bolt from the blue.

[1] See Appendix 'B' for a more comprehensive list.

Build castles in the air.
Fish in troubled waters.
Sell like hot cakes.
Storm in a tea cup.
Writing on the wall.

2. *Idioms under trial*
Augean stable.
Bull in China shop.
Feather in the cap.
Fight tooth and nail.
Make both ends meet.

3. *Idioms that are likely to have been borrowed from the West*
Behind the curtain.
Let the cat out of the bag.
Nip in the bud.
Shoulder to shoulder.

As an example of the enduring influence of the English idiom and the English way of expression in contemporary Malayalam, I cite an extract from the Kerala Assembly Proceedings as reported in the *Mathrubhumi* daily of July 6, 1967. While criticising Kerala University, a member of the assembly said, 'As it has been said that there is something rotten in the State of Denmark, I am sorry to say that there is something rotten in the Syndicate of the University.' (Literal translation from the Malayalam original.) The member found it convenient to get the helping hand of Shakespeare in strongly indicting the University. The minister for education was apologetic in his reply and is reported to have stated that he was not responsible for creating this 'Augean stable'. It is significant that the education minister, C. H. Muhammad Koya, who happens to have considerable journalistic experience, also had to resort to an idiom which has grown out of Greek mythology and popularized by the English.

This indicates how far the thought process of the modern, educated Malayalee is influenced by Western modes and styles of expression. Sometimes the style of expression becomes blatantly Western as in the following cases :

nigamanattil ettuka	..	to reach a conclusion.
tīrumāṅam etukkuka	..	to take a decision.

mṛgabhūripakṣam	..	brute majority.
vidyutchakti parājayappeṭuka	..	electricity failure.
vyaktinirappil	..	individual level.
mukham rakṣikkuka	..	to save face.
niyamam kayyileṭukkal	..	to take the law into one's hands.
kalivukaḷ cūṣaṇam ceyka	..	to exploit the capacity.

Proverbs and Maxims

Proverbs are brief, epigrammatic sayings that have become popular in a language as they express some general truth. Often there will be a remarkable felicity in expression which makes them memorable. Most of them have been tried out by generations of speakers. There are at least seven thousand such proverbs in Malayalam and they are usually called *Paḷam Collukaḷ* which means 'old sayings'. Although a great majority of them are old, this does not mean that new proverbs are not accepted by the language. There are about half a dozen printed collections of proverbs in Malayalam, the most important among them being the one compiled by Pilo Paul. He has given about four thousand Malayalam proverbs and has in most cases cited parallel proverbs in English.

When you compare well-known proverbs in various languages, you will be surprised by the similarity of sense and expression. This is as it should be, because they all express certain aspects of great truths and fundamental principles which are the same the world over. From this similarity, it should not be surmised that a particular language has borrowed from another. This does not mean that there can be no borrowing in the realm of proverbs and maxims, but only that great care has to be taken before passing judgment on such questions.

Below are a few examples of proverbs which have exact parallels in English and Malayalam. This parallelism does not necessarily mean any borrowing.

1. In the country of the blind,
   the one-eyed man is king.
2. Barking dogs seldom bite.
3. As you sow, so shall you reap.

There may be just a few proverbs in Malayalam which have come as a result of contact with the English language. The following merit scrutiny, though it necessarily remains an open question.

1. Necessity is the mother of invention.
2. Rolling stone gathers no moss.
3. Love is blind.
4. A drowning man catches at a straw.
5. All that glitters is not gold.
6. Necessity dispenses with decorum.

CHAPTER III

REFERENCE BOOKS FOR LANGUAGE STUDY

As a literary language Malayalam has a history of over eight centuries, and as a spoken tongue it must have been in existence for several centuries more. However, till about the eighteenth century, it had practically no basic instruments which would facilitate a systematic study, such as grammatical works and dictionaries. Even in the eighteenth century the efforts in these directions were meagre and we have to come to the mid-nineteenth century for something substantial in these fields. This is without prejudice to *Lilātilakam*, the fourteenth century treatise on *Maṇipravāḷam*[1] written in Sanskrit, where there are very valuable references and indications about Malayalam rhetoric and grammar. However useful and important *Lilātilakam* may be for the study of early Malayalam from the linguistic point of view, it cannot be regarded as a grammar proper of the language.

Thus lexicography and grammatical works in Malayalam have a history of less than 250 years' duration, which began only when European scholars came to grips with it. That a language as developed and cultivated as Malayalam should remain without these basic instruments till the Europeans came to study it may surprise many. But when one comes to think of it, there is really nothing so surprising about it. A language is best learnt when it is not deliberately learnt or formally taught. That is what happens to every child. Before a child goes to any school, he is capable of handling one language, his mother tongue. He is not conscious of the grammatical rules and lexical restrictions and capacity of that language, but the fundamentals are ingrained in him before a conscious study starts with the aid of a teacher. For ordinary purposes he does not need a written grammar or dictionary. But when he wants to use a second language, he faces it as an adult and there he cannot proceed far without a grammar and a dictionary. The second language learnt by people of Kerala before English education became popular was, by and large, Sanskrit. A number

[1] *Maṇipravāḷam* is a special literary dialect blending the vocabulary and grammatical features of Malayalam and Sanskrit.

of people also learnt Tamil. So the sophisticated Malayalee needed grammars and dictionaries only for Sanskrit and Tamil. Malayalam was considered his own ancestral property, and no special effort was required of him to become proficient in its use. Until about the sixteenth century, English too was held in similar regard by Englishmen, who considered Latin the language to be really studied.

But when the Europeans came to Kerala, either for trade or for missionary work, they were faced with the problem of communication, which meant learning a new language. The pioneers who managed to get a working knowledge of Malayalam had a very difficult time indeed, as there was no suitable work of grammar or dictionary. Therefore it was quite natural for them to compile lists of basic Malayalam words (with equivalents in Latin, Portuguese, or English) and to record essential points of Malayalam grammar for their own use and that of their successors. These first efforts were in due course improved upon by later students, some of whom had a flair for learning new languages as well as for figuring out their grammatical structure. While giving due credit to the magnificent efforts of European scholars, particularly the missionaries, in this pioneering work of compiling dictionaries and grammar books for the language, it may be pointed out that it was indispensable for the cross-cultural communication in which they, the Westerners, took the initiative. We should certainly be thankful to them for taking the lead in this work for which they had a better background than the Malayalee, by virtue of similar work in their own languages.

Let us now assess the European contribution in these two fields separately.

Dictionaries

The compilation of lexical materials in Malayalam falls into three stages, and at each stage the influence of the West is clearly seen. In the first two stages it is direct, whereas in the third it is indirect.

Early efforts

In the first stage, we notice the efforts of the Catholic missionaries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They hailed from

Portugal, Italy, Germany, and Austria. As far as we know, the materials they collected were not put to public use but were used by foreign students in the Catholic seminaries at Ampazhakkad and Varapuzha in Kerala. According to Dr. P. J. Thomas, who has carried out extensive research on the subject, the earliest dictionaries were written in Portuguese and Latin. Dr. Gundert the compiler of a well-known Malayalam-English Dictionary (1872), acknowledges his indebtedness to the materials collected by these missionaries. He does not give their names, but Dr. Thomas has given us the names of a few missionaries who have worked on this project : John Baptista, Father Clement, Father Fares, and Father Stephen.[2] The name of Father Ernestus (or as he is called in Malayalam, Arnos Padiri) can also be included in this list. Unfortunately no work of these pioneers is available now.

We now come to the second stage where full evidence of work done is available. These dictionaries are by the Protestant missionaries. Rev. Benjamin Bailey, who took over as principal of the Church Missionary Society's seminary at Kottayam in 1816, was an ardent student of Sanskrit and Malayalam. He was keen on translating the Bible into Malayalam and also on compiling a dictionary of the language ; and it was not long before he launched both projects. The dictionary was printed by the C.M.S. Press, Kottayam, and was published in 1846. As far as we know, this is the first Malayalam dictionary to be printed. It is, in effect, a bilingual dictionary as the meanings are given in English also. Critics can say that in this work Sanskrit words are given more importance while indigenous Malayalam words have only a secondary place and that there is no attempt at etymological observations. But, after all, Bailey's was the first major attempt at lexicography and as such his contribution should be gratefully remembered.

After about two decades, another dictionary was published, again from the same source, thanks to another Protestant missionary, Richard Collins. He was the principal of the C.M.S. Seminary from 1855 to 1867. This was a simple Malayalam dictionary. Collins was greatly helped by two Malayalee scholars in this compilation published in 1865. That two more editions

[2] P. J. Thomas, *Malayāḷa Sāhityavum Christiāṅikaḷum*, pp. 92-123.

were to follow (the latest being a revised edition brought out in 1918) shows the popularity of this work.

Gundert's dictionary

Now we come to a great landmark in the field of lexicography : the Malayalam-English dictionary compiled by Dr. H. Gundert (1814-93), a missionary attached to the Basel Mission, who came to India in 1838. An erudite scholar in several European languages, Dr. Gundert, was German by birth. Within a few years of his coming to India, he attained a working knowledge of a number of Indian languages and mastered Malayalam. His familiarity with the science of language and his amazing genius for studying new languages, together with his steadfastness and zeal, made him an ideal person to compile a good dictionary. He laboured for twenty-five years and the result is the *magnum opus* that was published by the Basel Mission Press, Mangalore, in 1872. Gundert not only studied the important literary works and other records in Malayalam ; he also collected words and idioms by patiently listening to people in all walks of life. He took pains to compare cognate forms of words and to give etymological indications wherever possible. Caldwell in the Preface to his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, pays a special compliment to Dr. Gundert, ' whose truly scientific " Dictionary of Malayalam " has given a fresh stimulus to Dravidian philology.' Gundert's dictionary remained unsurpassed in its scientific approach for many decades. Ninety years after its first publication, i.e., in 1962, a second edition of this dictionary was brought out by the Writers' Cooperative Society in Kerala, and within the short period of a few months all copies were sold out. This shows the esteem in which the work is held even though other dictionaries in Malayalam have appeared since it was published.

A European design is seen in the dictionaries published in the various Indian languages during the nineteenth century. Taking the South Indian languages alone into consideration, we may refer to C. P. Brown's *Telugu-English Dictionary* (1852), Winslow's *Tamil-English Dictionary* (1842) and Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary* (1894). All these are substantial contributions made by European savants to the scientific study of South Indian languages.

After the publication of Gundert's dictionary there was a long

lull in the field of lexicography in Malayalam. The language was growing continuously and there was need to have a more modern dictionary, but none dared to follow Gundert for quite some time. We now pass on to the third stage, where native scholars come to the picture.

Dictionaries by native scholars

Śabdatārāvali : Thus we come to another dedicated spirit comparable to Gundert or Samuel Johnson, namely, Srīkaṇṭēśvaram G. Padmanabha Pillai. Single-handed he toiled for twenty years and completed his *Śabdatārāvali* in 1917. He started publishing it in instalments which were completed in 1923. The work earned high praise as a very useful desk dictionary and also the first comprehensive Malayalam-Malayalam dictionary. Several editions of the work have since been brought out and it has been revised many times.

Navayugabhāṣhā nighaṇṭu : Another dictionary, which can be ranked next to *Sabdatārāvali*, is *Navayugabhāṣa nighaṇṭu* (2 volumes, 1943) by R. Narayana Panikkar. Panikkar has drawn largely from Gundert and Śrīkaṇṭēṣvaram, but his arrangement is more scientific and his approach more modern. Still, many people prefer *Śabdatārāvali* to his work even today.

Two dictionaries dealing with puranic topics have been published in Malayalam, the earlier one by Pilo Paul under the title *Purāṇakathānighaṇṭu* and the later one more comprehensive by Vettam Mani with the title *Purāṇanighaṇṭu*.

Bilingual dictionaries : Scores of small Malayalam dictionaries have been published in the last fifty years and it is not necessary to catalogue them here. However, mention has to be made of certain laudable efforts in compiling bilingual dictionaries connecting Malayalam and English. As early as 1849 Bailey published the first English-Malayalam dictionary. A few decades later, Tobias Zacharias compiled a more comprehensive English-Malayalam dictionary which held the field for a long time. Since then, several such dictionaries have been published by various agencies. Most of these have had a good sale, for there was a growing demand for such, as translation activity increased. Recently two bilingual dictionaries deserving of mention have been published :

(1) *English-English-Malayalam Dictionary* (1956 - 2 volumes)

by T. Ramalingam Pillai, and (2) *English-Malayalam Dictionary* (1966) by C. Madhavan Pillai. Both are significant contributions and very valuable for translators from English to Malayalam. Particularly praiseworthy are the efforts of T. Ramalingam Pillai who is also the compiler of a dictionary of idioms (*Śailīnighaṇṭu*).

A few bilingual dictionaries connecting Malayalam with Hindi or Sanskrit have been published during the last quarter of a century. All of them are useful to students of language and literature.

Whether bilingual or monolingual, the dictionaries compiled by native scholars have been considerably influenced by Western techniques of lexicography, such as alphabetical arrangement and citing of sources. The alphabetical order of arranging words is Western in concept. We were familiar with the *Amarakōsa* type of Sanskrit dictionary, where synonyms are grouped under a subject-wise arrangement. In some cases the dictionary is composed in verse. This was all right at a time when learning was memory-oriented. A person who had committed to memory the synonyms of all important concepts and terms could easily decipher and locate any term with a little effort. But when one has to deal with several thousands of words and one is eager to ascertain the precise meaning of an unfamiliar word, memory will not be dependable. The alphabetical arrangement is then most handy. Like the rhyming dictionary in English (by Levins, 1570) in which words are arranged according to the final syllables, the synonym type of dictionary is useful for composers and poets. But they are only a handful. The great bulk of people who need a dictionary are more interested in the precise meanings of words, usage of phrases and idioms, and in some cases the derivation of words and other cultural indications. They would certainly prefer the system of presentation tried and developed by Western experts. Here Malayalam, as well as other Indian languages, has considerably benefitted from Western models. The twenty-volume Oxford Dictionary was approved as the model to be used in compiling a comprehensive Malayalam lexicon in a project initiated by the University of Kerala, on which a team of scholars under the Chief Editorship of Sri Suranad Kunjan Pillai has been working for about fifteen years now. The first volume was published in 1967, and the series is likely to be completed in a few years.

Grammars

Early efforts

The story of developing grammatical materials of Malayalam is not very different from that of compiling dictionaries. Here again the results of pioneering efforts have passed into oblivion. We know of a few such efforts from the acknowledgements of successive workers in the field. According to available information, the first dissertation on Malayalam grammar was written in Latin by Angelos Francis, who was Bishop at Varapuzha (Verapoly) during 1700-1712.[3] His grammar took into consideration the spoken tongue, whereas the grammar compiled by Father Ernestus (Arnos Padiri) dealt with high Malayalam in the Sanskrit model. High Malayalam (*Ucca Malayalam*) is the Sanskritised *granthic* language. Ernestus came to Kerala in 1699 and mastered Malayalam to such an extent that he was able to write books in prose and compose poetry of a high order. He hailed from Hungary. Very little is known about the efforts of other eighteenth-century scholars who tried their hands at describing the structure of Malayalam. However, it is reported that Paulinos, Faures Mooppan, and Bishop Ildephons did some work on Malayalam grammar.[4]

The first Englishman to compile a grammar of Malayalam was Robert Drummond. His grammar of the Malayalam language, printed at the Courier Press in Bombay, was published in 1799. That he based his work on the materials compiled by the Catholic missionaries would be quite evident from the pages of the work, even without the open acknowledgement of indebtedness in the Introduction wherein he says :

> Having by surmounting these difficulties acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language to excite a desire of improvement, I was happy in the opportunity of paying a visit to the Rt. Rev. Louis, the titular Bishop of Usula, presiding over the Carmelite Mission of Verapoly in the vicinity of Cochin in the month of August 1799, with whom I resided during the whole of the monsoon.... The worthy prelate . . . being entirely exempt from bigotry or prejudice of any kind be [sic] with a generosity equal to his hospitality submitted to me all his store of manuscripts with an injunction to render them as subservient

[3] A copy of this is available in the Vatican Library.
[4] P. J. Thomas (Dr.) *Malayāḷa Sāhityavum Christiāṅikaḷum*, pp. 92-96.

as possible to the end of diffusing knowledge of Malabar tongue among the Honourable Company's representatives.[5]

He gave examples in Malayalam characters.

At least three more grammars were written by Westerners during this period : *Outlines of Grammar of Malayalam Language*, by F. Spring (1839) ; *Grammar of Malayalam Language*, by Joseph Peet (1841) ; and *A Short Grammar and Analysis of Malayalam Language*, by R. Collins (1864).

Gundert's Malayalam Grammar

All the aforementioned works of grammar were meant for Westerners ; most of the missionaries and some of the administrators learnt Malayalam with their help. But the first grammar which attracted both native and Western scholars who appreciated the genius of the language was from the pen of the Rev. Dr. H. Gundert, to whose dictionary we have already referred. His *Malayala Bhasha Vyakaranam* is a scholarly work written in Malayalam. The first portion consisting of 545 articles was published in 1851. The complete version came out only in 1868. In this magnificent effort, Gundert was assisted by E. Diez, who edited the work while the author was away in Germany. Gundert's successor in office, the Rev. L. Garthwaite, also gave his assistance in finalizing this edition.

When Gundert's grammar was published, all previous works on the subject paled into insignificance. Even the works by native scholars which were published soon after, though good in their own way, could not compete with it, for Gundert's work was more scientific and more comprehensive than theirs.

Gundert's grammar is set forth in three parts : Orthography ; Etymology ; and Syntax. Each part has several sections. Though the grammar is written in Malayalam, all important terms are given both in Malayalam and in English. On a close analysis of the terms used, it is clear that the approach to the question has been Western, but the terms adopted in Malayalam are in a large measure taken from Sanskrit and to lesser extent copied from Tamil or coined newly.

Here is an instance of the Western mould influencing the mind of Gundert : he uses the term *vaḷavibhaktikaḷ* (വളവിഭക്തികൾ)

[5] Quotation reproduced from P. J. Thomas, *ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

to denote oblique cases. This is an awkward combination of a Malayalam term, *vaḷa* (വള), and a Sanskrit term, *vibhakti* (വിഭക്തി). Evidently Gundert had in his mind the term *vaḷañña* (വളഞ്ഞ) which means bent or oblique. The term *oblique* itself is not necessary in the discussion of the topic. On a close examination of the topic one finds that he is struggling hard to compromise between the traditional Sanskrit approach (*dvitiya*, *tritiya*, etc.) and the well-known English forms (accusative, instrumental, etc.). Similar is his use of the term *maṟaviṅeyaccam* (മറവിനയച്ചം) to denote the negative participle.

Sub-headings like the following, which are numerous, show that the thinking has been on the lines of English grammar.

1. Roots of cardinals
2. Copulative links preceding terminations in അവൻ, അവൾ, അതു
3. Divisions of verb—strong and weak
4. Auxiliary verbs affixed to past participles
5. It is only by a sort of ellipsis that ഉണ്ടു can stand for the copula.

The second part, entitled 'Etymology,' comprises something more than that. From the English subtitles, some of which are reproduced below, we know that the field of morphology is covered therein.

The three genders
The plural number
The cases
Declensions
The inflections of verbs
Roots of verbs
The three tenses
Adverbial participles
Adjective participles
Imperative, infinitive, optative
Conditional, concessive, etc.
Verbal nouns
Negative verbs
Formation of verbs
Defective verbs, etc.

It is quite understandable that Gundert looked at the structure of Malayalam with European eyes. Grammatical tools were quite

developed in the West,[6] and he was quite conversant with them. However, he was also conscious that he was dealing with a language which was considerably different in structure. He, therefore, made good use of the tools available in India, particularly those from Sanskrit and Tamil.

Gundert's successor at the Basel Mission was L. Garthwaite. He published *A Catechism of Malayalam Grammar* with an English translation which was basically Gundert's work, but in a shortened form more useful to the average missionary who did not want to bother about the intricacies of the language.

After the publication of Garthwaite's *Catechism* another European, L. J. Frohnmeyer, compiled *A Progressive Grammar of the Malayalam Language for Europeans* (1889)[7]. This was also published by the Basel Mission Press in Mangalore. The title itself explains the scope of the work which is elementary in character. The medium is English, but the examples and many exercises are given in Malayalam characters.

Caldwell's Comparative Grammar

The mid-nineteenth century is a significant period for the whole of India as regards comparative grammatical studies. In South India, Bishop Caldwell's *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, published in 1856, was hailed as a beacon light. It was Caldwell who proved beyond controversy that the languages of the South—viz., Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam—belong to a separate family, having no genealogical connection with Sanskrit or any member of the Indo-Aryan family. At the same time, it should be remembered that F. W. Ellis (1780-1819) came to the same conclusion as early as 1816, though his dissertation was not known to the world of scholars till it was published in the *Indian Antiquary* of November 1889. Bishop Caldwell's monumental *Comparative Grammar* has influenced all contemporary and later grammarians of the Dravidian languages. In his analysis and comparison of the various phonological and morphological features of the cognate languages, he employed the technique developed in the Western countries. The idea of a comparative grammar was unknown to Indians till Western

[6] Most of the English grammatical terms are borrowed from Latin, the mother of all European grammars.

[7] Revised second edition, 1913.

scholars demonstrated the significance of such studies. It is true that the talents of many native scholars were pressed into service in such comparative studies, but the long-range vision, coordinating brain, and superior organizing ability are the contributions of Western savants.

Grammars by native scholars

There are quite a few worthwhile grammars of Malayalam written by native scholars. Three of these are : *Malayāzhmayude Vyākaraṇam*, by the Rev. George Matthan (completed before 1851, but published in 1863) ; *Kēraḷa Kaumudi*, by Kovunni Nedungadi (completed in 1875, but published in 1878) ; and *Kēraḷa-bhāṣa Vyākaraṇaṃ*, by Pachu Moothathu (1876).

The Rev. George Matthan could not have seen Gundert's grammar as his work was completed before 1851. However, he was quite familiar with both Western and Indian approaches to the subject. Nedungadi was familiar with Sanskrit and Tamil, while Moothathu was too much influenced by the Sanskrit method.

Kēraḷa pāṇiṅīyam : Now we come to an epoch-making event in the history of grammatical literature in Malayalam, the publication of *Kēraḷapāṇiṅīyam* by A. R. Rajaraja Varma. This work has been considered as an authority for the last fifty years, i.e., ever since it appeared in 1917 in the form available to us today. It should be said that this is the second edition of a smaller work which was published as early as 1896. The earlier edition was written in the *Sutra-vritti* style of Pāṇinīyan tradition. The revised edition is considerably different, not only in technique and presentation but even in the basic concepts. Indeed, the old work underwent such a metamorphosis that it would be more proper to say that it had a rebirth. To lapse into metaphorical expression, one could say that if an Ayurvedic physician was responsible for the earlier birth, an English doctor had come to the aid of the second birth. The author himself admits that what remains of the old is the title *Kēraḷapāṇiṅīyam* and something of the subject matter, so little that he was not happy about retaining the title. It would perhaps have been more proper to call the present work *Kēraḷa-caldwellīyam*. However, this may be equally unsuitable, for although it is true that the revised edition was considerably influenced by Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, it is not an imitation or carbon copy of portions of Caldwell.

Rajaraja Varma was a profound scholar of Sanskrit who had a good knowledge of Tamil and a fair working knowledge of Kannada and Telugu. He consulted authoritative grammars in these languages, not to speak of the works of Caldwell and Gundert to which he frequently referred. Among all the scholars, Rajaraja Varma had the greatest respect for Caldwell. In fact, he felt uneasy about disagreeing with Caldwell. This is quite clear from several portions of the work, though he invariably tries to take an independent view of problems. It is difficult to explain in a few words how the author accomplished this difficult task. He is indebted to many languages and many authors, but he has not mortgaged his judgment to any one language, be it Sanskrit or English, or to any one author, be it Pāṇini or Caldwell. He rejected *in toto* the *Sutras* of the earlier edition and replaced them with convenient verses that do not require long interpretations; whenever an explanation is necessary he himself gives it. He has employed a large number of Sanskrit terms which have been found suitable, but he has imported only Sanskrit terms and not Sanskrit grammar as Nedungadi did. He has taken a few terms from Tamil also on considerations of merit. However, the over-all approach and the manner in which the native tools are handled appear to be appreciably Western, which is not to say that he has given a " Western tinge " to the grammar of Malayalam as Gundert and George Matthan did to a noticeable extent. From a mere logical and descriptive approach in the earlier version, he switched over to a historical and comparative approach, taking care not to sacrifice logic or descriptive analysis.

In the long introduction to the grammar proper, he discusses the evolution of Malayalam and its relationship to other members of the family. Here he has, by and large, followed in the footsteps of Caldwell, though he has many points of his own to contribute to the discussion. To quote P. K. Narayana Pillai, who contributed a valuable foreword to the grammar, " From the very alphabet to derivation, there is not a single phase of grammar on which his extraordinary powers of generalisation and keen observation have not been brought to bear. He has said many new things and said many other things in a new way . . . The division of the parts of speech into five is again an original idea, departing from the threefold classification of the preceding

grammarians who simply followed the Sanskrit lead." There have been criticisms about certain portions of *Kēraḷāpāṇīṅīyām*, particularly voiced by M. Seshagiri Prabhu in his *Vyākārāṇa Mitram* (1919, 3rd ed.). But they are either of a minor nature or disputable. In any case, Rajaraja Varma's work has not been displaced in the last fifty years, though normally in a growing language this should have happened.

Modern comparative studies

As has been pointed out, the study of comparative grammars and the reconstruction of the histories of languages are positive contributions from the West. Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages* is no doubt a great work, but it does not provide the last word on the subject. Though Caldwell was familiar with all the languages of the Dravidian family, he was more at home with Tamil and specially drawn towards it. This is evident from the pages of the work as well as from the author's preface.[8] Though more than a century has elapsed since the publication of this *magnum opus*, and though he paved the way for others to go further, later contributions to the field have not been many. Of the few works that are worthy of being noted here, those sponsored by the Madras University are the more important. The University of Madras set up a department of Indian languages in 1927 to organize research in Indian literatures and linguistics, and several works have been published by scholars who were attached to the department. Some of the senior professors in the department had their training in research in European universities. Apart from the *Annals of Oriental Research* in which many research papers have been published, the following works deserve mention: *Dravidian Comparative Vocabulary*, Vol. I, (1959); *Comparative Grammar of the Tamil Language* by P. S. S. Sastry (1947); and *Studies in Dravidan Philology* by M. Ramakrishnayya (1935).

Caldwell in his Preface referred particularly to the need for compiling a comparative vocabulary of the Dravidian languages.

[8] Caldwell, Preface to the *Comparative Grammar*. 'I trust it will be found that I have not left much undone that seemed to be necessary for the elucidation of Tamil; but I hope this branch of work will now be taken up by persons who have made Telugu, Canarese, Malayalam, or Tulu their special study, so that the whole range of the Dravidian languages and dialects may be fully elucidated.'

This remained a desideratum for over a century, and strangely enough the work was left to be done by two eminent Western linguisticians. The *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* by M. B. Emeneau (University of California, Berkeley) and T. Burrow (Oxford University) was published in 1961. A supplement of this dictionary has been published in 1968 (Clarendon Press) The value of this reference book cannot be over-estimated.

In short, it is Western scholars who have given a firm and modern basis to the scientific study of the South Indian languages, not only by showing the way, but also by making substantial contributions.

PART II

LITERATURE—A CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY

CHAPTER IV

BACKGROUND

INDIA has a long tradition of assimilating foreign influences and weaving them into the pattern of her own life. And perhaps there is no other region in India which was subject to foreign influences for such long periods and in so active a manner as Kerala. Hence the literature of Kerala was being modified and enriched continuously by outside contacts, and Malayalees are known for their receptive attitude. We have already seen certain traits which are the result of the Western influence on the vocabulary, the idiom, and the grammar of Malayalam. We shall now examine the depth and extent of Western impact on Malayalam literature.

The history of Malayalam literature extends over eight hundred years. Even in the early period of its history, foreign streams of literature are seen flowing along with the indigenous stream. However, they are foreign with a qualification, because they are Indian. The *Pāṭṭu* school of poetry reflects the Tamil influence, and the *Maṇipravāḷa* school the influence of Sanskrit.[1] These two schools were hybrid and artificially stylized, whereas the indigenous stream was simple and almost rustic. This *Trivēṇī* (triple stream) flows on from the twelfth till about the fifteenth century when the Tamil stream gives way; but the Sanskrit stream goes on with increasing velocity. When you come to the sixteenth century and more particularly the seventeenth, Malayalam gets a feel of the West, something of a trickle, as Christian missionaries from Portugal, Italy, Germany, Hungary and Austria came to Kerala and studied not only Malayalam, but also the sister language, Tamil, and Syriac (the language of worship of the early Christians in Kerala who were of Syrian descent). They established seminaries and in their own way started teaching Christian theology. Incidentally, they prepared lexicographic and grammatical materials of Malayalam, as described in Part I, and also translated a few books from Latin, Portuguese, Spanish, etc., into Malayalam. It should be pointed out that

[1] K. M. George, *Ramacaritam and the Study of Early Malayalam*, pp. 20, 60.

these first incursions into the language did not mean any significant influence on the literature, as the missionaries worked in certain isolated areas and among certain groups of people.

This European contact on the literary front, though not spectacular in any way, acted as a slow and silent leavening agency until about 1840, when the more dominant English influence commenced in the cultural realm. In this second stage, which extends till about 1880, the trickle becomes a small but continuous stream. It is in this stage that Malayalam received the valuable contributions of Bailey, Gundert, and other Westerners, particularly in the form of dictionaries and grammars. After 1880 it is a different story. Then it is that native litterateurs take the lead, inspired by the Western classics and Western forms of literature. They helped the prolific growth of Malayalam literature. Here the stream develops into an ever widening river, with outlets flowing in different directions. In our survey, this stage—without doubt the most important, having several phases—will be treated most fully, though we will devote some space to the earlier stages as well, in order to get an idea of how the graph ascends.

The difference between the third stage and the first two stages of Western influence can perhaps be best explained by using a metaphor. A literary production is the fruit of a creative mind, and the fruit or the seed has latent powers of producing more fruit. Some European literary works (or seeds) were imported in the nineteenth century when the British pattern of education was introduced in India. Indians who had attained a good working knowledge of English read these works and enjoyed them. This can be likened to consuming imported grain. Even when foreign books are translated into Indian languages and are read, it is not much different. What happens in translation is that the grain is converted into a palatable form for a different type of consumer. For this conversion or translation, the basic works done by the missionaries have been of great advantage. However, for continued consumption, we would have to depend on continued imports from foreign agencies, and that for many reasons has to be limited. Meanwhile, expanding education created a desire for the foreign cereal, keenly felt by a few people of imagination and creative urge. So, instead of consuming all the foreign grain, they sowed some of it on Indian soil, watered and fertilized it. Well, it was a successful experiment, for

it produced crops sixty-fold and sometimes a hundred-fold. This was done by Bankim Chandra in Bengali, Hari Narayan Apte in Marathi, Chandu Menon in Malayalam, and several others like them. They are really propagators of an Indian Renaissance in the field of literature and culture. They and others like them widened the thin stream of foreign literary influence so that it reached the ordinary reader in the Indian languages. Some foreign seeds thrive well in Indian soil. It also happens that Indian seedlings grow luxuriant with the help of foreign fertilizers. The thought is Indian, but the inspiring factor is borrowed. This is what has happened in Malayalam during the last nine decades, when several Western books were adapted, several themes borrowed, and quite a few Western literary forms accepted as a means to present indigenous themes and contemporary problems. It is this indirect borrowing that has been more beneficial to Malayalam as in the case of other Indian languages.

And this is not an exclusive phenomenon in Indian languages only. As a matter of fact, it is hard to find a literary work which is completely original, in the sense that nothing of it has been taken from other sources. Equally rare is a great literature which has not been influenced by other literatures. All great writers have been subject to various kinds of influences, not the least of which is confrontation with another imaginative brain. As Rabindranath Tagore says, 'Originality in literature lies in its capacity to absorb the universal in all literatures and arts and give it a unique expression characteristic of its particular genius and traditions.'[2] This is what has happened in the case of the great writers in Malayalam of the late ninteenth century, who were inspired by the great European books.

Western Type of Education

The Western type of education became popular in Kerala only in the nineteenth century. Though seminaries were set up in the two preceding centuries in a few areas like Kodungalloor, Ampazhakkad, and Varapuzha, by Jesuit and Carmelite priests, and though instruction was given in a few European languages, it was limited to a few and the whole project was missionary-orien-

[2] *Calcutta Review*, January 1933.

ted. The public by and large was not very much concerned with it. However, in the nineteenth century when the dominant influence was that of Britain, things took a different turn. Even the missionaries (most of them Protestant) took a broader view and showed an interest in secular education as well. The impetus given to educational activities by the Basel Mission in Malabar, and the London Missionary Society and Church Missionary Society in Travancore and Cochin, is acknowledged by everyone.

With all its shortcomings, English education has been a great boon to Kerala as it has been to other regions of India. Education in the country prior to this was not organized properly or standardized effectively. Apart from elementary instruction in a few subjects, students in Kerala were taught Sanskrit and/or Tamil. And the final phase of education for the major Communities was a kind of indigenous battle-training. This had continued for a long time without any freshness, and intellectual stagnation had set in. It was then that an English type of education was slowly introduced. As far as we know, it was the London Missionary Society in South Travancore that took the initiative to found the first English school. In 1806 Ringletobe started a school in Mailadi. The British Resident of Travancore and Cochin gave him encouragement and help. In due course, institutions were set up in Quilon too, and by 1813 the Society had six schools. However, the Church Missionary Society made an even greater contribution in this direction. Their first English school was started in 1816, at the Kottayam Old Seminary. Very soon several schools had started in similar fashion in various parts of the Malalayam-speaking region. Thomas Norton, Benjamin Bailey, Joseph Fenn, and Henry Baker are the missionaries who contributed much in this area. The Travancore Government itself sponsored the establishment of an English school in 1837 during the reign of the enlightened ruler and musical genius, Swati Thirunal. In 1839, the Basel Mission started its work in North Kerala. Under the leadership of Gundert and Garthwaite the mission set up and ran English-medium schools in that area.

The fertilizing flow of Western ideas widened the mental horizon of the newly educated who eventually became the leaders of public opinion. Madras University was established in 1857, and soon several institutions raised to the level of colleges were

affiliated to it. Instruction in schools and colleges was provided in various subjects including English literature and Malayalam literature. While English had plenty of teaching material, Malayalam suffered from want of suitable textbooks. This created a need for production of good books. Textbook committees were formed to look into the matter, and through their efforts many prose works came to be written. This, in a nutshell, is the story of education which promoted the cause of literature in Kerala. And it is well known that Kerala is educationally the most advanced State in India.

CHAPTER V

STAGE I—EARLY INFLUENCE (BEFORE 1840)

WHAT distinguishes Kerala from other linguistic areas in the Indian Union, is not simply Kerala's higher standard of education and higher percentage of literacy, but the better balance of religious communities in the body politic. The Caste Hindus (Nayars), Ezhavas, Muslims and Christians are all important communities having sizeable populations. No one community can be ignored or steam-rollered when adult suffrage is a *fait accompli*, and the problem of minorities does not exist in the manner it does in other areas. The inhabitants of Kerala were exposed to Aryan, Christian, and Muslim influences quite early, and this has made the regional culture quite cosmopolitan. According to tradition, St. Thomas, an apostle of Jesus Christ, came to Kerala and established a church as early as A.D. 52. It is difficult to find a historical basis for this, but there is sufficient justification for believing that Christians existed in Kerala from the early centuries of the Christian era. So, when the Portuguese Christians came to Kerala in the sixteenth century, they must have been surprised to find native Christians with a long tradition. What was common between them was their faith in the basic Christian doctrine, but their forms of worship and connected rituals were considerably different. The Portuguese Christians felt that the Kerala Christians, who styled themselves Syrian Christians (they claimed a Syrian descent and used Syrian liturgy), had relapsed into a kind of paganism, and hence they thought it their bounden duty to reform them. The Synod of Diampur (1599) was convened for the specific purpose of reforming them and uniting them with Rome. The Portuguese also wanted to propagate Christianity among the Hindus. Most of the local people, whether Christians or Hindus, knew only their local language, Malayalam. The more educated among them knew Sanskrit and Tamil. Knowledge of Syriac was limited only to the Christian priests, who had to learn it as the liturgy was in Syriac. Thus the people of the land did not know any European language, and the early missionaries from Portugal did not know the language of the people. So, for communication between the local people and the foreigners,

learning a new language was inevitable. The missionaries as well as the traders slowly picked up Malayalam. They also admitted a few local people to their seminaries and taught them not only the Christian doctrine, but European languages like Latin and Portuguese. Thus the learning of a new language did not remain the responsibility or prerogative of one community only.

The local Christians, during their long history of over twelve centuries, had merged so well with the rest of the people in Kerala that what distinguished them from others was mainly their faith and worship. They had also evolved certain customs and practices which had a stamp of their own, but even these were considerably influenced by the prevailing ways of the country. In these respects they were different from the Western Christians and more akin to the local Hindus. The local Christians also did not bother to propagate their faith among the Hindus. There was a sort of general feeling that it is natural for children to follow the religion of their parents. The Western Christians did not agree with this attitude. To them a real Christian is one who propagates his faith. The missionary enterprise has remained, by and large, a Western idea till recently, when some indigenous churches have awakened to this aspect of their faith in Christ.

The dialogue required for ordinary trade can be of an elementary level, but for discussing ideas about God and man's relationship with Him a deeper grasp of the language is required. The Christian missionaries were therefore required to make a fairly thorough study and, being foreigners, they had to depend on dictionaries, grammars, and similar materials. This was pointed out in the earlier chapters on language. The missionaries, however, did not stop with the preparation of such basic materials; some of them went a few steps further and prepared books on Christian doctrine in Malayalam. A few of them wrote books on secular subjects, partly as aids to the general study and partly as means for literary enlightenment. In this chapter we shall discuss some of their literary efforts before 1840.

Arnos Padiri (? —1732)

We have made a casual reference to Arnos Padiri's efforts in compiling a grammar of Malayalam. Though 'Arnos Padiri' is the name by which he is familiarly known in Kerala, his real

name was John Ernestus Hanxleden. *Arnos* is a Malayalamization of Ernestus and *Padiri* means priest. Born and brought up in Hungary, Arnos Padiri came to Kerala in 1699 as a Jesuit missionary. Though based at Ambazhakkad, in the early days he spent a considerable part of his time at Trichur in order to learn Sanskrit from Brahmin scholars. In the beginning, suspicious about this white man's intentions, the scholars were reluctant to teach him Sanskrit, but eventually they were won over . In due course Arnos Padiri mastered both Sanskrit and Malayalam. His main intention was to write books in Malayalam so that they might be read by Christians in their homes, just as the Hindus read Ezhuthachan's *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. And he succeeded in this attempt. His role is comparable to that of Veeramamunivar (Father Beschi) as regards Tamil.

Caturantyam :—The most important literary work of Arnos Padiri is *Caturantyam*, a poem composed in four cantos. The excitement of a man nearing death and his thoughts on the two places where his spirit is likely to spend the rest of time, i.e., Heaven and Hell, form the subject matter of this long poem. In it he uses metres employed by Cherusseri in his *Krishnagātha* and by Ezhuthachan in his epic poems. The poem is not without defects in the matter of prosody and rhetoric, but it has considerable literary charm. The style is ornate and Sanskrit vocabulary is preponderant.

Miśihācaritram:—This is the story of Jesus Christ, written in a musical Malayalam metre, *Pana*. Compared to *Caturantyam*, the language of this poem is fairly simple.

There are a few other works written by the Padiri, but they are not as well known as the two poems cited above.

Paulinos Padiri (1748-1806)

Paulinos Padiri was born in Austria in 1748 as John Philip Wesdin. When he joined the Carmelite Order he changed his name to Paulino de san Bortolomeo. Paulinos is better known in European circles than Arnos. He was educated at the Universities of Prague and Rome and even there started his study of oriental languages. He came to Varapuzha in 1777 for missionary work and spent thirteen years there. As a scholar he was greatly respected both in the West and in the East.

Paulinos Padiri wrote a few poems and a large number of prose works in Malayalam. His more important works are : *Dévasalguṇam* (poem), a description of six qualities of God ; *Trēsyācaritam* (poem), the story of St. Teresa ; *Kūdāśappustakam* (prose), a treatise on forms of worship ; *Divyajnāṅam labhikkāṅuḷḷa Saraṇi* (prose),on how to get divine knowledge ; and *Ettudivasatte Dhyāṅam* (prose), eight daily meditations.

According to Dr. P. J. Thomas, Paulinos wrote as many as twenty-four books, but many of them are in Latin. He served as a bridge between East and West.

Other missionary authors and native Christian writers

Quite a few other missionaries also made contributions to the Malayalam literature of this period. Such contributions may not be considered substantial by the modern reader, but their relevance in shaping the literature of the period cannot be denied. We shall mention just a few of the more important names : seventeenth century—Mathews Padiri, Francis Roz, Angelo Francis, and John Baptista ; eighteenth century—Clement Padiri and Bishop Ildaphons.

The works of these missionaries were in the main oriented toward propagating Christian ideals. Some of them were good scholars and some had creative imagination. Still they cannot be compared with native poets in their command of Malayalam idioms and usage. In those days the recognized scholars and literary men were all Hindus and they did not consider the missionaries' works of much literary merit. This was their judgment on works written by native Christians as well. This is quite understandable in such a situation, but later generations of critics have found more value and significance in some of the works of the early Christian writers. We shall refer to a few of them which have gone up in the estimation of contemporary critics and historians.

Samkṣēpa Vēdārtham : This is the Malayalam version of *Compendium Doctrina Christianae*, and has gained special significance as the first book ever printed completely in Malayalam-characters. The author of the work is Father Clement, who was in Varapuzha for a long time. Though the book was written in Malayalam, the printing was done in Rome in 1772. It contains

276 pages in demi-octavo size. The book is written in the form of a dialogue between a teacher and his disciple. The language, therefore, is simple and direct.

Varttamāṅa pustakam : We now pass on to a book which, though written by a native priest, bears witness to the influence of the West in two ways : first, it is Western in style and treatment ; and second, it introduced a new type of literature in Malayalam, the travelogue. It may well be the first travelogue in any Indian language. The title, *Varttamāṅa pustakam*,[1] means Book of News and its author is Thoma Kattanār.[2] Parammakkal Thoma Kattanār (1740-1799), with Kariyaṭṭil Ouseph Malpān, performed a long and tedious journey to Rome. The voyage, which commenced in October 1778, took about two years for completion, for there was no Suez Canal in those days and hence they had to take a circuitous route from Madras via the Cape of Good Hope and Portugal. After visiting several countries in Europe, they returned to India six years later.

Thoma Kattanār has made a delightful story of this hazardous journey. It is written in a simple and attractive style. Though the work has its ecclesiastical orientation, it contains very many interesting pictures of the Western world and several critical assessments of life there. This really fascinating work is worth translating into other languages. In Kattanār's prose you find marks of Western style. It is compact and clear, and the narrative is without gaps. There is a general design and arrangement into chapters and paragraphs not too common in prose writings in Indian languages of the period. *Varttamāṅa pustakam* has definitely enriched Malayalam prose. In it both the subject and treatment are Western ; only the language and writer are Indian.

Caviṭṭu nāṭakam : For the student of literature, the *Caviṭṭu nāṭakam* is significant as the forerunner of the Malayalam drama. *Caviṭṭu* means stamping, or footwork, and *nāṭakam* means drama. It is a type of musical play introduced in central Kerala towards the close of the seventeenth century. In the following century it was very popular among the Christians. As we look at it now, it is a curious kind of stage play—a combination of many

[1] *Varttamāṅam*=news ; *pustakam*=book.
[2] Kattanār=priest.

things Eastern and Western. It has music, dance, and verse dialogue. It is a cross between the Western opera and the Kerala *Kathakali* as far as the stage presentation is concerned. The language itself is a curious mixture of Tamil and Malayalam. The stories are mostly Western, dealing with historical personalities or biblical characters, and the dress and make-up of the actors are Western. To emphazise the importance of the steps and the rhythm, a stage with wooden planks is used. The footwork is so skilful that you are enraptured by it.

There is a legendary story that the idea for the *Caviṭṭu nāṭakam* was conceived under Portuguese influence as a means to wean the local Christians away from *Kathakali*. It so happened that a well-known Tamil scholar, poet, and adherent of the Roman Catholic faith, Chinnathambi Pillai, was in Cochin in those days, and he was helpful in composing suitable scripts for the new art form. This explains the Tamil element in the scripts. Later, another Tamil poet, Vedanayakam Pillai from Neyyoor, composed some pieces. They set the pattern for the art form.

One of the most popular *Caviṭṭu nāṭakam* pieces is entitled *Kāralmāṅ caritam*. It deals with the story of the emperor Charlemagne, how he went to Palestine with his troops and defeated the Turks and made them Christians. As in *Kathakali*, the heroic sentiment is supreme in *Caviṭṭu nāṭakam*. An equally popular piece is *Jenoa nāṭakam*, wherein the story is borrowed from Roman history. There is another on Napoleon. There are also some based on biblical stories, such as *Joseph nāṭakam* and *Yacobu nāṭakam*. Also several stories taken from lives of the saints are dealt with in this fashion. The number of such stories prevalent even now shows how popular *Caviṭṭu nāṭakam* has been.

The Western element in *Caviṭṭu nāṭakam* is significant. The stories are constructed in such a manner as to bring in conflict ; there is emphasis on characterization ; and the situations are realistic. There is a clown (*vidūṣaka*) who comments on events, reminding one of the Chorus of the Greek play. With the onset of the Sanskrit pattern of drama, and due to other causes cultural and historical, *Caviṭṭu nāṭakam* has lost its popularity and has gone to the museum. But it has a story to tell regarding the Portuguese influence on Malayalam literature and the Kerala stage.

Bible Translations

The Bible as an indispensable accompaniment of a Christian is taken so much for granted today that it would surprise anyone to hear that the Christians in Kerala, who had several centuries of existence in the land, had no Malayalam Bible till 1811. The Christians were bound together as a community by oral instruction in the Christian faith and the old Syriac Bible. About the Syriac Bible itself we know very little. When the British missionary Dr. Buchanan visited Kerala in 1806, he was fascinated to see an ancient Syriac Bible. The Syrian Metropolitan, in presenting the copy to Dr. Buchanan, seems to have said that it was nearly a thousand years old.[3] That may be an exaggeration. The linguistic experts think that that particular version of the Bible could not date from earlier than the twelfth century. The manuscript is now kept in the Cambridge University Library.[4] There must have been quite a few copies of the Syriac Bible with the priests in those days ; however, little use was made of it in worship, importance being attached to the liturgy and the teaching of the ordained ministers.

The Bible became important only in the nineteenth century when Protestant English missionaries came to the land. Even during the Portuguese occupation, little attention was paid to making the Bible available to the Christians of Kerala. The Portuguese tried to root out all traces of Nestorianism in the Kerala Church and to unite it with Rome ; in this they were largely successful. However, in 1663 when the Dutch, who were Protestants, made their conquest, there was a partial swing back to the older forms of liturgy, resulting in two broad allegiances. The arrival of the Church Missionary Society's missionaries early in the nineteenth century meant a new breath of life in that confusing state of Christianity in the land. The new missionaries realised that the Syrian Church was 'languishing for want of scriptures.' In the first decade of the century a series of efforts was inaugurated by the British missionaries for the translation and publication of the

[3] J. S. M. Hooper, *Bible Translation in India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, 2nd ed., pp. 11-12.

[4] The writer of this book had the privilege of examining this rare manuscript caligraphed on sheep-skin, when he visited the Cambridge University Library in Sept. 1968.

Bible in Malayalam. In this great programme, they were aided by the native priests and scholars.

The Syrian Metropolitan, Mar Dionysius, was very interested in Dr. Buchanan's proposal to translate the Bible and he offered to supervise the work. By 1807 the translation of the four gospels had been completed. The translation was made from the Syriac version, though the Tamil version was also consulted. Malayalam type was specially cast at Bombay to print this manuscript and the book was finally published in 1811. In many Indian languages, the Bible appeared for the first time at about this date.[5] The exceptions are Tamil (1714) and Urdu (1743). For the first Malayalam edition, the British and Foreign Bible Society provided the paper. Successive British Residents in Travancore took a good deal of interest in seeing that a complete Malayalam translation of the Bible was published. Thus in 1817 it was resolved to translate and publish the whole Bible. The C.M.S. lent their missionary, Benjamin Bailey, for this work. He was assisted by eight Syrian priests. In 1829 the Malayalam translation of the New Testament was published, the printing being done at the C.M.S. Press, Kottayam. The people north of Cochin did not care much for the language of Bailey's tentative version. Therefore, a parallel effort was going on in North Kerala under the supervision of T. Spring, Chaplain of the East India Company at Tellicherry. The Madras Auxiliary Bible Society initially agreed to finance the publication of both versions. The Tellicherry version was prepared after consulting versions in Greek, Sanskrit, English, and Tamil. This version was however not published, as on second thought it was considered unwise to sponsor two translations, whatever their merits might be. Bailey then completed the Old Testament also. In 1835 a committee was appointed to supervise his work and the complete Old Testament was published in 1841.

It is true that local scholars assisted Benjamin Bailey in the great task of translating the Bible, but the stupendous work done by him will always be remembered with admiration and gratitude. The Malayalam version of the Bible has shown that great ideas

[5] Assamese (1819)
Bengali (1800)
Gujarati (1809)
Hindi (1806)
Kannada (1812)
Kashmiri (1821)
Marathi (1805)
Oriya (1809)
Punjabi (1815)
Sanskrit (1808)
Telugu (1812)

can be couched in simple language, language not far removed from the spoken tongue. There have been critics of the prose style of the Malayalam Bible. Some of them feel that certain usages smack of Western idioms, and they call it *Pādiri Malayalam*,[6] in a derogatory sense. There is a certain amount of truth in this. The translators must have been more keen about fidelity to the original than about the beauty of diction. And since most of the work was done by small groups, no individual style was possible. It is quite a difficult task to give expression to a completely alien culture in a language far removed in background and mode of expression. In certain situations, therefore, the translator is obliged to sacrifice either *idiom* or *faithfulness* to the original. And in the translation of Scripture, it is better to sacrifice idiom in order to preserve fidelity. By and large, this is what happened in the Malayalam translation. In any case, it is true to say that modern Malayalam prose has been to some extent influenced by the language of the Bible.

[6] *Pādiri*=priest.

CHAPTER VI

STAGE II—THE INFLUENCE SPREADS (1840-1880)

The second stage of Western influence is, of course, a continuation of the first, but there are certain distinguishing features which justify separate treatment. The first stage is predominantly foreign and the contributors are mostly foreign missionaries ; the contribution of native writers showing Western influence is meagre. And the works which came into the language as a result of European influence are to a very large extent geared to the spread of Christian theology and Western philosophy. Education for those missionaries was religious education. When you come to the second stage, the missionaries seem to have taken a more liberal attitude. For them, though the final goal remained unchanged, the means have been somewhat broadened. A liberal education was considered not only relevant, but an added incentive to being exposed to Western religious practices. Therefore, apart from compiling grammars and dictionaries which merely helped the foreigner in learning the new language, some of them, like Gundert, went several steps further and produced works of great scholarship. They also wrote several books to serve as teaching materials in the secular schools. Another important change to be observed in this stage, is that a higher percentage of native talent comes to the scene. Though the native writers have been considerably influenced by the Western technique and approach in writing, their contributions are marked by their own native stamp. The writers who were responsible for spreading the Western influence in Malayalam in this stage can be divided into three categories : the foreign missionaries, the native Christians, and the non-Christians.

Works of Foreign Missionaries

We have already referred to the contributions of foreign missionaries in the literary field prior to 1840 and in particular to their efforts in translating the Bible into Malayalam. The Malayalam Bible published in 1841 was not without defects. As already pointed out, the language did not meet the needs of the people of North

Kerala. This led to the publication in 1854 of a new version of the New Testament by the Basel Evangelical Lutheran Mission. The translation was done by H. Gundert, whose scholarship and knowledge of languages was well known to everyone. New editions of this work were published in subsequent years. Bailey's translation also had several editions. A revised edition of the Old Testament was issued in 1859. But then it was considered necessary to take steps to prepare a standard edition for the whole Malayalam-speaking region, making use of available versions and talents. In 1871 the Madras Auxiliary of the Bible Society appointed a committee to prepare a revision of the New Testament. The committee consisted of representatives of the Church Missionary Society, the London Mission, the Basel Mission, and the Syrian Church. Gundert's version was taken as the basis for the revision. In 1880 the New Testament thus revised was published. There have been a few other revisions also after this date, but it is not necessary for us to go into detail about them. What we have to note is the care and concern with which the work was done and the valuable contribution of the European missionaries in the translation of the Christian scriptures.

Dr. Gundert (1814-1893)

We have already referred to the services of Dr. Gundert as a lexicographer and grammarian of Malayalam language and as a translator of the Bible into Malayalam. Though these are, no doubt, the most valuable and long-standing contributions of this great savant, we cannot ignore his literary contributions.

Gundert wrote as many as nineteen prose works in Malayalam. A majority of them relate to Christian teachings and the history of Christian churches. There are, however, a few which are of a secular nature. They are: (1) *Kēralōlpatti*, (2) *Kēraḷappaḷama* (1868), (3) *Malayāḷa rājyam* (1870), (4) *Pāṭhamāla* (1860), (5) *Naḷacaritasāra śōdhana*, and (6) *Paḷamcolmāla* (1845).

The first two books, as their titles indicate, deal with the traditional lore and history of Kerala, and the third one is geography and history combined. *Pāṭhamāla* is a reader for use in schools, prepared by Gundert while he was Inspector of Schools under the Madras Government. He selected poetic portions from well-known works, but as regards prose, he had to write out most of the articles himself as there was nothing much available in the lang-

uage to select from. The fifth book deals with the Puranic story of Naḷa, and the last one, *Palamcolmāla*, is a work in which old sayings in Malayalam which refer to the same truth are grouped together and the author's own interpretation given. He makes use of this opportunity to introduce a Christian message. But on the whole, these books by Gundert were meant for general education and they served a useful purpose in those days. His prose is uniformly simple, direct, and matter of fact, and in this regard he set a good example for contemporary and subsequent writers.

Dr. Marsalinos (-1892)

Dr. Marsalinos was a linguist who hailed from Italy. He came to India as a missionary at Varapuzha. After serving as rector of Puthenpally Seminary he was made Bishop. He wrote as many as fourteen books in Malayalam, all of them touching on some aspect of Christian faith. Out of these, *Satyavēdacaritṛam* (The Story of the True Scripture), consisting of 362 pages and published in 1872, is the best known. His command of the language is admirable. His name will always be remembered as one of the prime sponsors of two early Malayalam periodicals, *Satyanādam* and *Nazṛāṇi-dipika*.

Works of Native Christians

There are at least a dozen native Christians who contributed valuable works in Malayalam during the period under review, and all of them were influenced by the West one way or another. Perhaps the most outstanding among them is Rev. George Matthan.

Rev. George Matthan (1820-1870)

Rev. George Matthan was one of the best educated native Christians of the period. As an English-educated person he had several tempting offers from the state government, but he preferred to be a humble servant of Christ. We have already referred to his valuable grammar of Malayalam. He wrote several prose works, some on Christian teaching, some purely of an academic nature. Whatever the subject, he is profound in thought and attractive in presentation. He imbibed the best traits of English prose and demonstrated a way of writing which is clear, logical, well arranged, and convincing. Modern historians of Malayalam

literature agree that it is George Matthan, more than anybody else, who laid a solid foundation for Malayalam prose. The following are his important works: (1) *Satya vāda khēṭam* (1861), a prize-winning dissertation on truth and honesty; (2) *Vēda samyukti* (1862), the truth of the Scriptures; (3) *Oru samvādam* (1864), a dialogue between Gurupada Panditar of Banaras and an English judge; and (4) *Bālābhyasanam* (1867), on teaching young ones. He has also contributed learned essays on such subjects as the round earth, the atmosphere, the heavenly bodies, rebirth, the defects of matriarchal system, the place of women in society, and health and medical care. This gives a general idea of the wide range of his scholarship and interests apart from his missionary vocation. Mahakavi Ulloor, in his famous literary history, sums up the contribution of George Matthan in the following terms: "There will be no difference of opinion at all that George Matthan has laid firm foundation for modern Malayalam prose and placed the people of Kerala under a great debt." (Translation is the author's.)

Aymanam P. John (1825-1893)

The English school run by the Church Missionary Society at Kottayam produced several scholars and leaders of society. One of them is Aymanam P. John who first served as a language pandit in the government school at Calicut and later as *śirastadar* in Tellicherry sub-court. John translated into Malayalam certain English books dealing with law and history. The most outstanding contribution from his pen is *India Caritram*, i.e., Indian history. This is based on the English book by Maurice, though John has culled facts and figures from other works as well. This history, the first of its kind in Malayalam, was printed at the C.M.S. Press, Kottayam, and published in 1860. In the preface to the book the author says that the book is intended not only for students in the country but also for Westerners who desire to learn the language, and because of this he has kept the language simple and the diction easy and natural. He has, without doubt, succeeded in his attempt.

Oommen Philipose (1838-1880)

Oommen Philipose commenced his career as a teacher but became a journalist and editor when the periodical *Paśchima-*

tāraka was started at Cochin, continuing to serve as its editor till his death in 1880. What makes him unforgettable in the history of Malayalam literature is his adaptation of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* as a novel. This was published in 1866 under the title *Ālmārāṭṭam*. The author claims it as a free rendering. His name will always be remembered as the person who first introduced Shakespeare into Malayalam. It is also the first book in the language which to a degree resembles the form of the English novel.

Archdeacon Koshy (1825-1899)

Koshy was a product of the Kottayam seminary, completing his course of studies in 1844. He distinguished himself as a scholar in Sanskrit, English and Latin. He worked for a time as an assistant of the Rev. Joseph Peet and then as an ordained minister of the church in various parishes. Between 1872 and 1898 he was engaged in the revision of the Malayalam Bible. In recognition of his valuable services, the Archbishop of Canterbury made him an archdeacon and conferred on him the honorary title of Doctor of Divinity.

Archdeacon Koshy is the author of over ten books in Malayalam dealing with religious and secular topics. Two of these are particularly notable. One is a translation of the well-known classic by John Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress*, published under the title *Paradēśi Mōkṣayātra* about 1845. Several editions of this translation have been published as there was a continuing demand for the work, particularly from the Christian reading audience.

The other work which makes his name unforgettable is *Pullēlikkuñcu*. This is the first original work in Malayalam which has the semblance of a novel. You cannot consider it a novel proper unless you stretch your imagination very much. There is a story element and there are interesting dialogues, but the didactic element is all too clear. The author introduces a number of characters who discuss the caste system, idol worship, and also the Christian way of life. The aim of the author is to convince the reader of the superiority of Christianity and the story is only a string to tie all these discourses together. This may appear trite now, but in those days it was a novel idea. The story was serialized first in *Jnānanikṣēpam*, one of the early periodi-

cals in Malayalam, of which Koshy was editor. In 1882 *Pullēlikkuñcu* was published in book form.

Archdeacon Koshy also translated another book into Malayalam, John Bunyan's *Holy War*, under the title *Tiruppōrāṭṭam*. This is also popular among Christians of Kerala.

Other Christian Authors

There are also quite a few other native writers whose major contributions fall within the period 1840-1880. Although space does not permit us to go into detail, we shall list the names of some of them.[5]

Chavara Kuriakose Achan (1805-1871), author of eight books.

Archdeacon Oommen (1830-1904), author of three books.

Nidhirikkal Mani Kathanar (1842-1904), poet and author of three books.

Thakadiel Mathan Itty Avira (1815-1879), poet and author of sixteen works.

Konnayil Kochoonju Writer (1830-?), poet and author of four works.

The Non-Christian Writers

The basic culture of the West is inextricably bound up with the Christian religion and hence it is quite understandable that the Christians in Kerala were the first to respond to the influence of the West. They found something of a kindred spirit which was vital in the West and were keen to emulate it. The enlightened Hindus, particularly those belonging to the higher castes, were not indifferent to the advantages of accepting things Western, so before long they followed suit. It is true that certain aspects of the missionary efforts must have rubbed the educated Hindu on the wrong side, but being of a liberal bent of mind, he opened his eyes to the academic aspects and was not unmindful of the patronage behind Western education. This is what we see towards the end of the second stage. The Hindu had certain advantages over the native Christian, because the literature of the native language as well as of Sanskrit was

[5] For more details the reader is advised to refer to Dr. P. J. Thomas's *Malayāḷa Sāhityavum Christiānikaḷum*.

steeped in Hindu lore, and the Hindu critics were the final arbiters of good and bad in literary matters.

The above phenomenon, viz., the Hindu *literati* appreciating the value of Western literature, coincided with another : the local government's interest in popularizing the Western system of education. The reign of Ayilyam Thirunal, Maharaja of Travancore (1861-1875), marks the period when this kind of education received a boost from the hands of the government. The government's interest in the matter gave a special impetus to the movement towards a Western type of education for two reasons : first, more resources were made available for education ; and second, the idea that the Western type of education was a mere appendage of the Christian mission lost its hold. Ayilyam Thirunal had a very far-sighted and enlightened *dewan* in Sir T. Madhava Rao. The latter was directly responsible for starting several new schools on the English model and also for setting up a Textbook Committee to plan the preparation and production of suitable Malayalam books for use in schools. The first chairman of the committee was Annaji Rayar, English tutor to the Maharaja ; committee members were a Sanskrit grammarian (Subbayya Dikshitar) and a Malayalam pandit (Raman Tampi). The chairman knew little Malayalam, but on his recommendation, a new member was added, a person whose name stands out in Malayalam literature—none other than Kerala Varma.

Kerala Varma (1845-1915)

The only person on the committee who was at once imaginative, creative and productive was the new member, Kerala Varma. It appeared a natural culmination when he was made chairman of the committee in 1868. Thus commenced a period of great revival for the Malayalam language. Kerala Varma was not only a reputed scholar in Sanskrit and Malayalam, but a poet of great charm and a prose writer of distinction. He himself wrote many literary pieces, but he also inspired others to write, to fit in with the new syllabus based on European models. He corrected and edited several manuscripts and contributed encouraging forewords to many good works in the language. Through his efforts, prose in Malayalam received an unprecedented impetus, and as a result he has been referred to as the father of modern Malayalam prose. This is no doubt a flattery which can be excused when one considers the popularity that modern prose won at his hands.

Ayilyam Thirunal was himself a writer of some merit. His *Mīnakētanācaritam* is based on an Arabian story. He also rendered into Malayalam prose Kalidasa's *Sakuntalam*, as early as 1857. Because of his interest in literature it was comparatively easy for Kerala Varma to acquire royal patronage. The same atmosphere of encouragement continued when Visakham Thirunal came to power.[1] However, the paucity of suitable books was keenly felt by all educators and particularly by Kerala Varma.

Several Readers and secondary books came to be written, and books in English served as a guide. One of the most interesting books written in those days is *Mahaccharitasamgraham*, based on the *Treasury of Biography* by Maunder. Of the fourteen biographies in the selection, five were written by Visakham Thirunal and the remainder by Kerala Varma. This is an indication of the cooperation received from the highest level. Books on history, geography, economics, ethics, health and general knowledge were sponsored by the Text-book Committee. This diversity was necessary to suit the wide scope of the new syllabus. In many cases the chairman himself wrote books.

Kerala Varma's valuable contribution to Malayalam literature continues much beyond the period specified for this section. He had a special genius for perceiving the best elements of English literature and a great understanding of the culture into which those elements were to be introduced. Added to these were a great drive and an infectious passion to get things done. He was also fortunate in his disciples and followers. The books sponsored by the Text-book Committee, to meet the needs of the wider syllabus drawn on the English pattern, set the tone for modern Malayalam prose. Thus commenced a glorious period for the entire Malayalam literature, the results of which will be more patent in the period after 1880.

[1] Visakham Thirunal ruled from 1880 to 1885.

CHAPTER VII

STAGE III—INCREASING IMPACT (AFTER 1880)

WITH the penultimate decade of the nineteenth century we come to the modern period of Malayalam literature. A renaissance in Malayalam letters is clearly seen when we enter this third stage of Western influence. As we have already pointed out, here the stream of Western influence steadily widens and increases in velocity. And during the long period of nearly nine decades, up to the present, the influx of Western ideas assumes massive proportions. Many new genres, such as the novel, the short story, literary criticism, the essay, and the biography, have taken root and flourished during this period ; other genres, such as poetry and drama, have become more mature, adding to their dimensions. Though the third stage is a continuation and natural expansion of the second stage, we can observe certain distinguishing general features. What are they ?

Kerala Varma presided over the tender destinies of Malayalam in a stage of transition in the educational pattern. He was a fine product of East and West, combining in himself the best elements of both. During his time there emerged a new generation of educated people. Previously, to be an educated man in Kerala meant to have a knowledge of the Sanskrit classics and *Sastras*. But with the transition, the term acquired a different meaning. Only a person who knew English was considered educated. Along with this, the transition meant other things also. In the literary realm, there was considerable change in the matter of tastes. Rigidity and formalism in literary matters gave place to fluidity and freedom. Prose was standardized and considered an acceptable form for literary expression. Above all, the religious bias lost its grip and secular ideas gained ascendancy. In the previous stages, Malayalam literature had to be frequently charged with Western ideas ; but after the transition it became a self-generating phenomenon, at least in certain generic forms. The Kerala soil was ready to soak and germinate the foreign seed and to produce a crop worthy of any clime and time.

In short, the impact of the West on Malayalam literature during the last nine decades has been so profound and responsive that the

results are luxuriant, colorful and magnificent. The period is long and the impact so widely spread out that without some kind of further division, any observation and assessment would be too general to be meaningful. As a matter of fact, two kinds of division—one horizontal and the other vertical—would be most helpful. By horizontal, a chronological division is meant ; and by vertical, a division based on genres or forms of literature cutting through chronological divisions.

First, let us approach the question on the chronological basis and trace the Western trends that are observable in Malayalam literature since 1880. It need hardly be stressed at this point that periods in literature are designed for the sake of convenience, and it is impossible to neatly cut off literary trends with reference to dates. Overlapping is not only unavoidable but natural, and we can only label periods or phases with reference to the dominant traits. We are able to see neo-classicism, romanticism, and realism of various shades intertwined, so to speak, in the modern period of Malayalam literature. However, the following division into three phases can be accepted as a working basis :

Phase I. Period of Renaissance, 1880-1930 (Neo-classicism and Romanticism).
Phase II. Period of Socialist Realism, 1930-1947.
Phase III. The Free Age, after 1947.

Phase I : Period of Renaissance (1880-1930)

The five decades commencing from 1880 can be considered a period of renaissance in Malayalam literature. The outstanding books that were written in both poetry and prose during this period will convince anyone that it was a glorious epoch. Here we see the revival of classicism, the flowering of romanticism, the upsurge of nationalism, and the introduction of many Western classics in an Eastern garb. Many genres—including the novel, the short story, the biography, the personal essay, the elegy, the sonnet, and the prose drama—were newly introduced into the language during this period and the Western impact was responsible for this. Different kinds of literary trends are noticeable at the same time ; hence it is difficult to further subdivide this rather long stretch of time. For instance, in poetry the neo-classical style of writing based on the Sanskrit pattern (*Mahakavya*) was in vogue throughout the period, and romanticism with a lyrical emphasis came to the

scene only in the first decade of this century and even then in a rather small way. However, in prose, the romantic trend was already well established by that time. Chandu Menon's well-known romantic social novel *Indulēkha* became popular as soon as it was published in 1889. This was followed by his second social novel *Sārada* (1892), and by C. V. Raman Pillai's historical romance *Mārttāṇḍa Varma* (1891). These created a popular taste for novels. It is understandable that poetry could not easily free itself from the influence of Sanskrit on account of the long tradition behind it. The case of prose was different and it was therefore more susceptible to Western influence.

Some of the great names of modern Malayalam literature are Chandu Menon, C. V. Raman Pillai, Kerala Varma, A. R. Rajaraja Varma, Kumaran Asan, Vallathol Narayana Menon, and Ulloor Parameswara Iyer. The last two lived beyond 1930, but their best creative works were written before 1930. Asan and Vallathol were responsible for bringing about a revolutionary change in Malayalam poetry in the twenties. Asan concentrated on social themes and Vallathol championed the national movement ; yet both made very significant contributions to the *khaṇḍkāvya* i.e., the short poem of the lyrical type. Thus the period of 1880-1930 is an age of modern classics as far as Malayalam is concerned. A good percentage of the books show some degree of Western influence, and this will be touched upon when the literary forms are taken up separately. However, it may not be out of place to list here a few titles which have a pioneering significance.

Significant Works of the Early Modern Period

Literary History

Bhāṣācaritram (1881)—P. Govinda Pillai

This is the first history of Malayalam literature. Govinda Pillai was inspired by the histories of literature in English.

Adaptations or translations of English classics

(*a*) Shakespeare

As You Like It (1882)—Chidambara Vadhyar

The Taming of the Shrew (1894)—Kandathil Varghese Mappila

King Lear (1893)—A. Govinda Pillai
Macbeth „
Hamlet „
Othello (1903)—K. Pappu Pillai

(*b*) Milton
Paradise Lost (a portion only-1905)—G. Raman Menon

Novels

Kundalata (1887)—Appu Nedungadi
Indulēkha (1889)—Chandu Menon
Mārttāṇḍa Varma (1891)—C. V. Raman Pillai
Akbar (1894)—Kerala Varma
This is a translation of the English version of the Dutch novel *Akbar* by Van Limberg Broaver. Though the translation was started in 1882, it was not completed until 1894.

The earlier lyrics

Malayavilāsam—(1895) A. R. Rajaraja Varma
Priya vilāpam (1903)—M. Rajaraja Varma
Oru vilāpam (1903)—C. S. Subramanian Potti
Oru vilāpam (1909)—V. C. Balakrishna Panikkar

Some well-known translations

Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* (tr. in verse, 1913)—N. Kumaran Asan
Rasselas (Johnson)—Pilo Paul (1913)
Arnold's *Sohrab and Rustum* (tr. in verse, 1918)—C. S. Subramanian Potti

Phase II—Socialist Realism (1930-1947)

In the previous phase, the conservative poets maintained a covert preference for the traditional type of poetry, the *Mahakavya*, (great poem or epic) even though they were confronted with the fresh wave of romanticism. Poets in Malayalam wanted to be styled as *Mahakavis*, a title usually given to those who have a *Mahakavya* to their credit. It was a craze among major poets in the first two decades of this century to compose a *Mahakavya* and become eligible for the grand title. But soon the fashion changed, particularly when the poets noticed the great success of Kumaran Asan and Vallathol in composing *khaṇḍakāvyas* during

the period. The *khaṇḍakāvya*, or short poem with a lyrical emphasis, thus came into vogue. Along with this, the freedom and the emotional appeal of romanticism pervaded the field of poetry, just as it had captured prose two decades before.

But romanticism could not exercise its influence for long. There emerged a new generation of writers who deprecated the romanticists as catering to the whims of the leisured class. To them the romanticist was an escapist as he did not portray the realities of life but was instead fanciful and idealistic. The impetus of the nationalist movement in the literary realm had died down and the new inspiration came from left-wing politics. The new generation asserted that literature should be 'progressive,' and to be progressive it had to be realistic; and realism had relevance only when it had a social message. This period of realism, which commenced as critical realism during the thirties and evolved later as socialist realism had great influence on Malayalam letters of the period.

To support the creative writers of the realistic school, there was a team of powerful critics, such men as A. Balakrishna Pillay, M. P. Paul, and Joseph Mundassery. The impact of progressive ideas was brought to the fore by fiction writers like Kesavadev, Thakazhi and Ponkunnam Varki, and by poets like Changampuzha, P. Bhaskaran, and Vayalar Rama Varma. Even established poets like Vallathol and G. Sankara Kurup were affected. Who does not want to be 'progressive'? But the social progress they all advocated did not fall within a particular groove carved out by a particular political party. This led to conflicts in the literary arena. We are not bothered about the clashes which resulted from ideological infiltration of the literary realm. We should, however, try to ascertain the distinguishing marks of this phase of modern Malayalam literature, apart from what has been pointed out already.

The previous age was one of titans; here we have writers of smaller stature. There is no one comparable to a C. V. Raman Pillay or a Kumaran Asan here. But there are several writers of talent, and the total output even during the short period of seventeen years (1930-1947) is really commendable. Most of them were very active and productive and worked well in cooperation, having a common goal before them. There was definitely more team spirit in this period than in the past.

A very important change that we notice in this phase is the increased contact which writers and critics had with literatures of Europe other than English—the so-called continental literature. Previously Europe, nay the whole of the West, had meant England to the Malayalees, as it had to most other Indians. Ninety-five per cent of the Western books translated into Malayalam before 1930 were written in English. But now the readers and writers of Malayalam have been introduced to master minds in French, Russian, German, and other European languages, through the translation of outstanding books into Malayalam and also the publication of instructive articles on such works and the new genres developed in those languages. The pioneer and leader among those who introduced continental European literature was A. Balakrishna Pillai. He was the *Acharya* (preceptor) of the leading writers of the progressive school, a radical thinker of great vision. A. Balakrishna Pillai encouraged young writers to read and emulate the continental authors, himself setting the example through translations. Writers like K. P. Sankara Menon, Changampuzha and S. Guptan Nair were encouraged to translate Western masterpieces. The translations were published in the weeklies *Prabodhakan* and *Kesari* edited by Balakrishna Pillai. Later *Mathrubhumi* and *Mangalodayam* also gave importance to such works and thus prose literature got great popularity.

There was an undeclared war, something like a cold war, between poetry and prose after the turn of the century. Though there were excellent prose writers during the first phase, it should be said that there was more glamour for the poet then. During the period of the progressive movement, the scale seems to have turned. The fiction writer, particularly the short-story writer, was the glamour boy. The prestige of prose had risen high, and this is definitely a result of Western impact. In an industrial age with so much facility for easy and cheap communication, prose seems to be the more natural medium.

Hundreds of short stories, several one-act plays, and many moving lyrics were written during this period, centring on the lives of ordinary people—the peasant, the labourer, and the factory worker. Some writers exhibited a craze to describe women selling their chastity because of straitened circumstances. Though propaganda was patent in the majority of such writings, it should be conceded that many good writers really came down from

their ivory tower and grappled with life's problems, writing with feeling and concern. The democratizing trend was clearly seen both in the choice of subject matter and in style and language. This was a welcome departure. The slogan "art for art's sake" was condemned as Utopian. There were long discussions and seminars on "Form" and Content" in creative writing. During this period more than in others, Russian literature influenced Malayalam as it did several other literatures. And Marxian dialectics gave an edge to the writing. On the whole the period of socialist realism was one of vitality and worth, and Malayalam literature became more proletarian and humanized.

Some significant titles published during 1930-1947

English

Antony and Cleopatra (Shakespeare)—tr., M. R. Velu Pillai Sastri (1939).

One World (Wendell Wilkie)—tr., V. T. Induchudan (1944)

French

Les Miserable (Hugo)—tr., Nalappat Narayana Menon (1933)

Une Vie (Maupassant)—tr., A. Balakrishna Pillai (1941)

Pelleas et Melisande (Maeterlinck)—tr., Changampuzha (1947)

Nine French Short Stories—tr., A. Balakrishna Pillai (1947)

Candide (Voltaire)—tr., A. Madhavan (1947)

Norwegian

Ghosts (Ibsen)—trs., A. K. G. Pillai and A. Balakrishna Pillai (1935)

The Wild Duck (Ibsen)—tr., E. M. Kovoor (1947)

Russian

Short stories (Tolstoy—tr., Ampadi Ikkavamma (1933)

The Kreutzer Sonata (Tolstoy)—tr., C. Govinda Kurup (1947)

Six Russian Short Stories—tr., N. P. Narayanan Nair (1946)

The Bear (Chekhov) —tr., Changapuzha (1945)

The Three Sisters (Chekhov)—tr., Vakkam Abdul Khadar (1947)

Mother (Gorky)—tr., K. V. Manalikkara (1945)

Creatures That Once Were Men (Gorky)—tr., A. Madhavan (1945)

Phase III—The Free Age (After 1947)

As is well known, 1947 is an important landmark in Indian history, being the year in which India became a free nation. The British disappeared from the political scene and two free nations, India and Pakistan, emerged. By 1950 India became a sovereign republic with her own constitution. This newly acquired freedom has touched the various aspects of social life in India. She became the largest democracy in the world with adult franchise. She decided to be secular, assuring freedom of expression and worship to all individuals, also guaranteeing protection to all kinds of minorities. Though the British left the shores of India as rulers and administrators, the English language continued as the sole official language of India for about two decades. Even now it serves as an associate official language along with Hindi, and that status is likely to continue for a long period of time. The original idea (as stated in the 1950 Constitution) was to dispense with English and make Hindi the sole official language by 1965. Even then there was, a consensus that English should continue as a language of education. It has, however, been realized subsequently that English could not be disposed of either in governmental administration or in higher education. There are various reasons for this; one of them, no doubt, is the manner in which English has permeated the cultural life of modern India.

The patronage which English received at the hands of the rulers and their associates and the subordinate status meted out to the Indian languages were matters of concern to the nationalists for quite some time. Therefore, when they got power, they wanted to rectify this inequity and make amends for it. They felt that democracy would be real and effective only if the people's business—social and political—was transacted in their own languages. This led to the demand for the reorganization of the states in the Union on the basis of major languages. This was done in 1956, and thereafter the Indian languages received added support and an impetus for further growth, because there was a state to look after the interests of each. These are significant changes. How have they affected the Indian writer's attitude towards Western literature? Has he turned his eyes away from the West with a feeling of self-sufficiency? Has inter-literary exchange diminished in vitality and depth?

The Indian-language press has grown considerably since

independence.[1] The medium of instruction up to the high-school stage is one or the other of the Indian languages. English is taught as a compulsory second language. In the university, the medium is still English, though preparation for a changeover is on its way. In some universities Indian languages have been accepted as the medium. The states are progressively introducing their own languages for administration. And there is no special support, direct or indirect, for English. Under the circumstances, it is but normal to expect a waning of the influence of English on the literary front also. But an objective appraisal will show that this is far from the truth.

It is impossible to assess quantitatively the extent of Western influence on Malayalam literature. The influence can come directly or indirectly. It may be manifested in translation, in adaptation, or in varying degrees of imitation in theme, plot, or form. Except in translation and clear-cut adaptation, it is very difficult to assess the borrowed elements with any degree of accuracy. But translations and adaptations indicate in a general way the dominant influences. The statistics given below are not comprehensive. Omissions are quite likely, as there are no bibliographies (giving first publication dates) in Malayalam to depend upon. However, it is hoped that they will throw some light on the main question of Western influence.

Number of Western Books in Malayalam

	Period	Translations	Adaptations
A	1880-1900	4	5
B	1901-1930	21	9
C	1931-1947	33	7
D	1948-1966	444	23
		502	44

The above list does not include translations of the Bible made from English versions. It does not include all Western languages :

[1] Vide Chapter XIII, Journalism.

the translation in the vast majority of cases was done from the English language. Below is a break-down language-wise.

Translations

Period	English	French	German	Russian	Others
A	3	—	—	—	1
B	20	1	—	—	—
C	4	10	1	8	10
D	209	50	21	112	52
	236	61	22	120	63

Break-down of the last column

Bulgarian	1	Lettish	2
Czech	1	Norwegian	10
Dutch	1	Polish	2
Greek and Latin	18	Serbo-Croation	1
Hebrew	1	Spanish	3
Hungarian	1	Swedish	1
Italian	12	Ukranian	1
Kerghese	3	Yiddish	1
		Minor Languages	4

Though the figures are not comprehensive, they are certainly revealing. It is, however, necessary not to jump to any facile conclusions. Here are some observations :

(1) There has been a big boom since 1947 in the amount of literature translated from the Western languages. Numerically since that date about seven times as many titles have come into Malayalam from the West as had done so before that date. Can we say, then, that the influence of the West in the field of literature has multiplied several times ? Are we mentally still subservient to English, though politically free ? These questions cannot be answered with a simple 'yes' or 'no.' Before we can come to some kind of conclusion, we should try to ascertain the various factors that go into the borrowing of foreign forms and the matters that influence the production of books.

(2) There is a time lag between the germination of an idea and its taking a definite, tangible form. This is very true in the case of literary productions. If a writer is stimulated by a theme, it takes quite some time to develop the idea in the creative mind and still more time to get it down in black and white. Then come the printing and publishing—the time taken will depend on various extraneous factors. Many stories and poems first appear in periodicals. By the time they are collected and published in book form, several years will have passed. Thus the dates of publication of books are to be considered with this factor in mind. During the thirties a definite impact was made by the progressive school, and several Russian stories and plays appeared in Malayalam periodicals. But quite a few of them were published as books late in the forties and even in the fifties, when the movement had positively gone out of vogue. In the thirties and early forties, the Western writers who were the craze among the intelligentsia in Kerala were Victor Hugo, Maupassant, Ibsen, Chekhov, Gorky, and Tolstoy. The creative genius of some of the best Malayalam writers flowered during this period, owing to their intimate contact with these great minds. However, the vast majority of the works of these great foreign authors have come into Malayalam by way of translation only after 1947. Thus the effect of propaganda in phase two produced considerable results in phase three.

(3) Though it has been said that the disappearance of the British meant the cessation of patronage for the spread of English ideas and ways of life, this requires some qualification. It was pointed out earlier in this work that the Indian Ocean was long the cockpit wherein certain European nations tried their might. Then, they were interested in establishing colonies. Today, colonialism has become an outmoded way of furthering national interests. Yet no nation is an island unto itself, and hence national interests, which take the form of trade interests, have to be safeguarded. In the cross-current of varied, clashing interests, two power blocs —the United States and the U.S.S.R.—want to lure the free nations to their side. While officially agreeing to the idea of co-existence, there seems to be a veiled effort for a 'cultural colonialism,' which is perhaps an aspect of neo-colonialism. After all, the attractive points about a way of life have to be highlighted. This has resulted in a good lot of literary material being translated and published in the Indian languages. There are agencies sponsored by the United

States and the Soviet Union which help in the propagation of selected literary material. Much of this material is of purely academic interest and has no direct relevance in the political game. Malayalam literature has gained quite a bit out of this. The Indian *Sahitya Akademi* has also sponsored the translation of some Western classics in the Indian languages. This explains, partly, the boom in translation during the free age.

(4) Independence and the change in set-up thereafter created a new zest in every regional literature. As far as the writers were concerned there was, of course, a liberation of the imagination from conventionalism. The writer was free to go as he liked, but he had a great responsibility. Here was a language which was quite mature and capable of growing. The new responsibilities in the field of education and administration meant new dimensions and quick expression. The language had to become a vehicle for the highest thoughts ; the literature should grow to a stature where it would be possible to consider a person truly educated without recourse to other languages. This is being realised by the forward-looking writers in Malayalam, as in other languages. The modern writers have little contact with Sanskrit, which used to be a rich storehouse for their predecessors. Even if some of them do have a good knowledge of Sanskrit, in this age they cannot draw much from it. There is, thus, a need to be in vital contact with at least one literature which is rich, modern, and international. And English is the answer. Therefore, the modern writer in Malayalam is continuing to draw from the vast treasures which English possesses, by translation, adaptation, and all other means. England has lost her superiority as a world power, and it is not surprising. But English literature, which contains some of the best that any literature has ever produced, will continue to inspire and influence any developing tongue. This, I believe, is the main reason for the boom in translated work after independence. It is also a reflection of the great boost which publication in Malayalam, in general has received in recent years.

(5) Another point worth noticing from the above statistics is the proportion between regular translations and adaptations. In the earlier periods, the tendency was more to adapt Western works than to translate them. We find Shakespeare's plays being introduced in Malayalam as stories in prose. We also find, in these and other works, the names of characters and places changed to

local ones. The writers were skeptical as to how the difficult foreign names would be taken by the readers who were not familiar with such. If we read these adaptations now, we find them queer. But it should be realised that we have been so Westernized in our tastes and attitudes in the last four or five generations that the Western names do not irritate us or tire us. Not only Cleopatra and Portia, but Nora and Jean Valjean are household names for us. To add to this, the modern reader is keen to understand as much of the foreign atmosphere as possible through well-known books. This can be better absorbed through a proper translation than through an adaptation. Hence, translations have become more popular.

(6) After English, the literature that has dominated the scene is Russian ; then comes French. The influence of the latter two is recent when compared to English, and the reasons are not far to seek. It is also significant that even though the Portuguese had a long connection with Kerala, not a single work from their language has survived in Kerala. As far as the Dutch is concerned, there is at least one book, the novel *Akbar*,[1] which Kerala Varma translated into Malayalam.

Finally, this free age of literature is a period of experimentation, and experimentation on a large scale. Translated literature forms only a part of the large number of books written in Malayalam. The energetic young writers in the language—poets and prose writers alike—keep their eyes open to ascertain what is happening in other parts of the world of letters. They naturally look to the West, where new experiments are continuously carried out and where leadership has been established. And English is by and large the channel of information for them. These days it does not take much time for a new idea or a new spirit to reach the shores of Kerala. Malayalees look for new things, imitate wherever possible, or at least are stimulated to make their own individual excursions into fresh fields and pastures new.

[1] *Akbar* is a book in Dutch with an Indian theme.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NOVEL

As in most other literatures, the art of narrating stories is not a modern phenomenon in Malayalam. Tales have been told in verse and prose from very ancient times. But the term 'novel' indicates a new method of narrating a story and this was first developed in the West. It is clear beyond a ray of doubt that Malayalam has borrowed this technique of story narration from English, and the term 'novel' has also been accepted into the language to denote this literary form. The novel in Malayalam has an added significance in our study, because it is the first literary genre that the language adopted from the West. This is no denial of the traces of Western influence that were to be found in Malayalam literature before the birth of the novel.

Laying the Foundation

The foundation for the great edifice of the Malayalam novel was laid by three English-educated stalwarts, Appu Nedungadi, Chandu Menon, and C. V. Raman Pillai. Nedungadi first came to the field, cleared the ground, and dug the earth ; Chandu Menon laid the cornerstone on the northern side, and C. V. Raman Pillai the cornerstone on the southern side ; and then the west-facing edifice rose up step by step.

Kundalata (1887), by Appu Nedungadi—the first Malayalam novel.

Indulekha (1889), by Chandu Menon—the first outstanding social romance.

Marttanda Varma (1891), by C. V. Raman Pillai—the first outstanding historical romance.

As the foundation is very important, we shall go into some detail regarding the beginnings of this literary form.

Appu Nedungadi (1863-1933)

Though Appu Nedungadi's *Kundalatha* is not considered a major novel, it gets the pride of place as the first work published in the

language having the basic characteristics of a novel. Kundalatha is the name of the daughter of the king of Kalinga, whose minister, Kapilanathan, had to flee the country after getting into the bad books of the king. While leaving for an unknown destination, Kapilanathan managed to kidnap Kundalatha, then an infant. Later, many changes take place in the court, several battles are fought, and the younger brother of the king becomes the ruler. After many years, Kapilanathan and Kundalatha return. In between there is a love episode between Kundalatha and Tharanathan (son of Kapilanathan, and brother of Swarnamayidevi, who was married to a prince), who also had to escape the wrath of the king. A lot of suspense is created while the story is being woven, and finally the whole thing ends in a happy manner with the return of the heroine to her rightful place.

M. P. Paul, author of the critical work *Novel Sahityam*, feels that *Kundalatha* shows the influence of Shakespeare's *Cymbelene* and Scott's *Ivanhoe*, the former in plot construction and the latter in characterization. Without doubt, the influence of the English novel is patent in *Kundalatha*. Though there is nothing outstanding about the novel, it has a place in literature as the first work which showed the Malayalee reader what a novel is.

Chandu Menon (1847-1899)

Chandu Menon's *Indulekha* is the most significant early novel in Malayalam. Though *Kundalatha* was published two years prior to the publication of *Indulekha*, it did not have the impact on readers that *Indulekha* had. When the Western impact on the Malayalam novel is taken into consideration, this novel is doubly significant. This is the novel that first created a craze among Malayalam readers for this new literary form. Apart from this, both the story in the novel and the story behind the novel demonstrate in an intriguing and striking manner the extent to which the English language had influenced the author.

The story behind Indulekha

Chandu Menon was a judge by profession and he had no pretensions to authorship. He was, however, a connoisseur of literature and a voracious reader of English novels. He naturally wanted to share his enjoyment of this literary fare and used to narrate the gist of the stories in his mother tongue to his associates

and friends. In the preface to *Indulekha*,[1] Chandu Menon discloses the circumstances which prompted him to write the book. It was almost an accident, an unpremeditated incident. It is better that the author himself speak about the matter.

I began to read English novels extensively after I left Calicut in the end of 1886, and I then devoted all the leisure, which my official duties left me, to novel reading. Thereupon I found that my circle of intimates with whom I had been accustomed to pass the time in social conversation and amusement considered itself somewhat neglected, and accordingly endeavoured to find means by which I could conciliate its members without in any degree foregoing my novels. With this subject in view, I attempted at first to convey to them in Malayalam the gist of the story contained in some of the novels I had read, but my hearers did not seem particularly interested in the versions which I gave them of two or three of these books. At last it happened that one of these individuals was greatly taken with Lord Beaconsfield's[2] *Henrietta Temple* and the taste then acquired for listening to novels translated orally, gradually developed into a passion. This importunity of ' this personage ' in the matter was so great that I had seldom time to read a book on my own account. Occasionally, even when I was alone and studying a treatise on law, my friend (mistaking it for a novel) would come to tease me saying, ' There again, you are reading a novel to yourself. I must have it translated orally.' Thus in one way or another it appeared to me, that by trying not to give umbrage to my associates, I had succeeded in giving considerable inconvenience at any rate to myself.

Finally, I was urged to produce a written translation of the novel by Beaconsfield which I have mentioned, and I consented. But when I had made some progress in the work, I thought the matter over, and decided that a translation thus made would be absolutely without value. . . . Moreover, another obstacle is that any attempt to reproduce literally in a written translation into Malayalam the love passages with which English novels abound must necessarily be far from happy. Taking, therefore, all these circumstances into consideration, I determined to write

[1] The English translation of *Indulekha* by W. Dumergue, first published in 1891, has been reprinted by *Mathrubhumi* Publishers in 1965.
[2] Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881).

a Malayalam novel more or less after the English fashion and gave my persecutor a promise to this effect.

The above account explains the story behind the writing of *Indulekha*. The 'personage' (also 'persecutor') referred to above is none other than the author's wife, as was revealed in a letter which the author wrote to Mr. Dumergue. Chandu Menon's fondness for English novels, his wife's interest in such stories, her ignorance of English and insistence on getting something similar in her language, the author's discovery that a translation would not be an adequate substitute, his decision to try a hand—all these factors put together produced the great Malayalam novel *Indulekha*, which is not only a masterpiece of craftsmanship, but a milestone in the history of Western influence on the literature of Kerala. Readers in Malayalam should be grateful to the spouse of Chandu Menon for her insistence and perseverance. The new novel was completed within two months.

Though Chandu Menon had decided to follow the pattern of the English novel, he wanted to select a local theme so that his readers would be directly interested. What he chose 'clicked.' For the real artist, suitable subjects are to be found close at hand. He took a good look at the social and cultural life around him. A deplorable degeneration was noticeable in the social structure relating to the two predominant communities of Nayars and Nambudiris. Nayar women belonging to respectable families were treated as mere playthings by high-caste Nambudiris, and orthodox Nayar parents considered this too venerable a tradition to be broken. The Nambudiris who 'married' the Nayar women took no responsibility as husbands. The matriarchal system contributed to their irresponsible ways. Chandu Menon wanted to expose this kind of lopsided custom. He wanted the Nayar community to have equal status and privileges. He also wanted the women to have better education and to enjoy equal status with men. He believed that the new generation could progress and prosper only by way of English education. The heroine, Indulekha, is pictured as an English-educated, intelligent, highly independent young lady, and she has a sophisticated lover in Madhavan. The story itself is simple, but the characters are lively, varied, and true to life. Chandu Menon's wit and satire are so entertaining and his humour so sparkling that the readers do not feel the weight of his mission. They not only enjoyed the novel but started thinking on the pro-

blems indirectly posed by him. 'If this is what a Western novel is like, let us have more of them.' This was the universal response which the novel produced. The author, however, was very diffident, as is seen from the closing sentences of the preface. 'I do not know how my countrymen will be disposed to regard a work of this description. Those who do not understand English have had no opportunity of reading stories cast in this mould ; and I doubt if they will relish their first experience of this kind of literature.' The readers not only relished this new dish, but also asked for several helpings. Since its first publication in 1889, over sixty reprints have had to be arranged to satisfy the demand. Few titles in Malayalam have this distinction.

Though *Indulekha* came to be written under a special urge, when the author finally decided to write such a book he had certain clear objectives in mind. Fortunately we are able to gather them from the author's own words, for he has clearly indicated them in a letter to W. Dumergue which accompanied a complimentary copy of the book. Dumergue, who eventually undertook the translation of the novel into English, was Collector of Malabar in those days. The letter is such an important document that it seems desirable to reproduce the passage that has special relevance to the question under discussion, though there is a certain amount of repetition of some ideas expressed in the preface. The personal tone and extreme frankness of the letter make it valuable.

"The reasons that induced me to write a novel in Malayalam are fully set forth in the preface. Briefly stated they are as follows :

First, my wife's oft-expressed desire to read in her own language a novel written after the English fashion and secondly, a desire on my own part to try whether I should be able to create a taste amongst my Malayalee readers, not conversant with English, for that class of literature represented in the English language by novels, of which at present they (accustomed as they are to read and admire works of fiction in Malayalam abounding in events and incidents foreign to nature and often absurd and impossible) have no idea, and to see whether they could appreciate a story that contains only such facts and incidents as may happen in their own house-holds under a given set of circumstances ; to illustrate to my Malayalee brethren the position, power and influence that our Nair women, who are noted for their natural intelligence and

beauty, would attain in society, if they are given a good English education and finally—to contribute my mite towards the improvement of Malayalam literature which I regret to observe is fast dying out by disuse as well as by abuse. The book is written generally in the style of Malayalam which I speak at home with such Sanskrit words as I might use in conversation with an educated Malayalee . . . ."

Three clear objectives emerge from this document, which is wonderfully brief and to the point.

(1) The author wanted to create a change in the taste of readers in Malayalam. It is true that they were accustomed to unrealistic, mysterious, and fantastic stories and were not used to reading narratives built around incidents which were likely to happen in contemporary social life. As they had, so far, been nurtured to a sense of wonder, would they like stories true to the life around them? The change not only appealed to them; it looked as if they had been long awaiting it.

(2) The second objective was a social resurgence, with a depiction of the important role of English education in its fulfilment. Chandu Menon fully believed that the community's progress depended on the expansion of modern education with its emphasis on English. His advocacy of English education as the panacea for the decadent social set-up in Kerala has been succinctly pointed out by M. P. Paul[3] and beautifully elaborated by P. K. Balakrishnan.[4]

The main conflict between the old generation and the new is centred on the relevance of English education. The old uncle Panchu Menon sincerely regrets that he has allowed his nephew (Madhavan) and his grand-daughter (Indulekha) to have an English education, for Madhavan tells his uncle straight to his face that he will oppose anyone if he is convinced that the person is wrong. The old man cannot brook this retort, and he concludes that English education is responsible for this challenging of authority. Madhavan wants his young cousin to be sent to Madras to receive an English education. According to him, only then he would become a full-grown man, but the uncle is dead set against this. As a punishment for the subversive attitude of the nephew, Panchu Menon decides that he will not give Indulekha in marriage to him. He plans to give her in marriage to a rich Nambudiri as per the

[3] M. P. Paul, *Novel Sahityam*, pp. 168, 169.
[4] P. K. Balakrishnan, *Chandu Menon*, pp. 94-103.

prevailing custom. This conflict has been beautifully developed to an interesting climax in the novel.

How about Indulekha? Though she is the grand-daughter of Panchu Menon, she is also the niece of an English-educated officer holding the high post of Dewan Peishkar. He brought her up till she was sixteen, when he suddenly dies. He, in perfect contrast to Panchu Menon, holds liberal views. In the matrilineal system the uncle has the responsibility for educating the nieces and nephews. The Dewan Peishkar is keen on giving Indulekha not only a sound education in English, but also training in music, Western and Eastern. She learns not only *veena*, but also violin and piano, and has classes in embroidery. She thus becomes an accomplished young lady according to Western standards. After the long conflict, when Indulekha and Madhavan emerge victorious, the real victory is for English education. This has been cleverly but quite deliberately managed by Chandu Menon. What further proof is needed of Chandu Menon's devotion to, nay infatuation for, English literature and the education which brings it? And note that this was written in 1889 when English education had not spread much in Kerala, even among men, not to speak of women. His own wife was eager to enjoy the fruits of English culture, but did not know any English. He did not want the next generation to have that handicap. What his wife lacked he gave to Indulekha. His wife must have been very pleased with her, as Indulekha experienced the refining influence of English education.

(3) Chandu Menon wanted to make his own contribution towards the development of Malayalam literature. Several writers before him had done so, but he sought to contribute his share in a novel way. Creative writing, until then, had generally been done in a language which was arificial and far removed from the spoken form. The simple prose popularized by the missionaries was not considered good enough for creative expression. But Chandu Menon decided to adopt the style of Malayalam which he spoke at home. He was convinced that only the spoken idiom could deliver the goods he wanted, by means of a social novel. In those days that was a great step forward. *Indulekha* was responsible for the discovery that simple Malayalam in its spoken form is good enough for creative writing of high calibre. In this regard also, we see the influence of the West.

Śarada (Part One)-an unfinished novel

Though *Indulekha* became a milestone in the history of fiction in Malayalam, for its author it was an experiment—a maiden attempt. The response was so good, perhaps far beyond his expectation, that Chandu Menon felt encouraged to write another novel. Thus he started writing *Śarada* and completed the first eight chapters in 1892. This was published as part I of the novel conceived in 3 parts. Somehow, this second venture did not progress with the speed of the first. He added three more chapters, but before he could complete the novel the cruel hand of fate removed him from the scene. Though incomplete, *Sarada* is a more impressive work than *Indulekha*, a work which has a more ambitious design. The story is built round a family feud. As an experienced legal lummary, the author must have come across several such agitations and litigations. He has vividly portrayed the hot-tempered head of the family, the managers who mislead the family members, the lawyers who are out to make capital out of the confusion, and the middlemen who aggravate the dispute and exploit the situation. The author's sense of humour, which was quite captivating even in the first novel, has become more profound and still brighter. *Śarada* undoubtedly confirmed Chandu Menon's great gifts of artistry and special genius for character portrayal. Three or four writers have since tried to complete the novel, but no one has been able to achieve a high degree of success. In *Śarada*, as in *Indulekha*, a typically Kerala situation is unfolded in a gripping story told in the characterisitic manner of the Western novel.

C. V. Raman Pillai (1858-1922)

When one surveys the whole domain of Malayalam novels, one comes across only two titans. One is Chandu Menon and the other C. V. Raman Pillai. As already mentioned, Chandu Menon was a member of the judiciary in Malabar, then a part of the Madras Presidency. Raman Pillai was also a civil servant, serving at Trivandrum in the native state of Travancore. Just as Chandu Menon laid the foundation stone for the social novel with his *Indulekha* in 1889, Raman Pillai did so for the historical novel with his *Marttanda Varma* in 1891. Though he wrote two more historical novels later, the reception for the first one was unsurpassed . The readers in Malayalam till then had no idea that materials in their own past history could be made use of for

such an artistic representation. Whereas Chandu Menon was completely free to construct a plot and create characters according to his fancy, Raman Pillai, because he was dealing with historical personages and facts of history, had to work under certain limitations : he had to weave history and imagination into a seamless whole. In this he was remarkably successful, for he was able to recreate history with a stamp of authenticity and to introduce colourful characters and interesting episodes from his fertile imagination without prejudice to the major facts of history.

Marttanda Varma

Marttanda Varma gets its title from the name of the raja who ruled over Venad, which later grew into what was Travancore State. The internicene feud which his cousins, the Thampis, had over the title to rule the kingdom provides the background for the story. The central character of the romance, however, is Anantapadmanabhan, an outstanding lieutenant of the prince. The story opens with a gripping description of the hero lying wounded in a forest. He is saved by a Pathan noble. Thereafter Anantapadmanabhan dominates the story as he goes about *incognito*, rescuing the prince miraculously from various difficult situations. He also saves his sweetheart from the clutches of one of the Thampis who wants to marry her. Till the very end the narrative goes on with added momentum and suspense, until finally the royal authority is established and the lovers are brought together.

Several critics have pointed out the similarity that exists between *Marttanda Varma* and Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1819). The similarity is not only in characterization and plot design, but also in external features such as giving an appropriate quotation at the commencement of each chapter. M. P. Paul has indicated certain parallelisms that go to show the influence of *Ivanhoe* on the novel. John of *Ivanhoe* and Padmanabhan Thampi of *Marttanda Varma* resemble each other in a striking manner. In the same way, Wilfred, the knight of Ivanhoe, and Anantapadmanabhan perform similar roles, particularly in their disguised movements. Paul also thinks that there is an echo of Shakespeare's *King Lear* in *Marttanda Varma*. He, however, takes care to emphasize that *Marttanda Varma* is not a mere imitation of Western works, but as good a historical novel as any written by Scott, Hugo, or Dumas. After all, a genius is not immune to influence. There is nothing

wrong in acknowledging Raman Pillai's indebtedness to foreign masters for his craft ; that does in no way diminish his excellence or originality.

Later novels

After the publication of *Marttanda Varma*, there was a long break in Raman Pillai's literary work. The next novel, *Dharmarāja*, comes after an interval of over twenty years, in 1913. The third novel, *Rama Rājabahadur*, was published in two parts in 1917 and 1920. Both are historical novels and continuations of what was dealt with in the maiden novel. *Dharmarāja* evinces more skill in the construction of the plot and is more profound as a work of art. The general consensus is that *Rama Rājabahadur* is supreme in conception and presentation.

Raman Pillai also wrote a social novel, *Premamritam* (1915) but it does not come anywhere near his historical romances in quality. It appears that Raman Pillai's muse was more at home in historical fiction in which it soared to great heights. Each writer is differently made. Chandu Menon stands apart from C. V. Raman Pillai in his choice of theme, style, and approach towards life. While the former laughed at the follies and foibles of contemporary society, the latter praised and glorified the past and recreated history, emphasizing the brighter side of life. Chandu Menon's plot is simple and his treatment lucid; Raman Pillai's plot is complex and his style involved. Each type has its place and significance and both are interesting. It is useful to compare great minds, but futile to grade them.

Building on the Foundation

As explained already, *Indulekha* (1889) and *Marttanda Varma* (1891) set the tone for the social novel and the historical novel respectively. Though these were cast in the mould of English novels and though English novels were available as sources of inspiration, writers in Malayalam found it more convenient to imitate the Malayalam masterpieces. There have been quite a few attempts at writing novels since 1891. A good percentage of such novels are imitations, and are neither adaptations nor translations of English novels.

Translations

Akbar

However, during this early period, Malayalam did receive one outstanding novel from the West by way of translation, namely, *Akbar*. The original work and the translation are interesting in more than one way. The original is written in Dutch, although the subject is an important epoch in Indian history. The title is justifiably *Akbar*, as the book deals with this renowned emperor's greatness and his role in shaping the affairs of the country. The original was written by Dr. Van Linberg Broaver in 1872 and was translated into English in 1879. The translation into Malayalam was done from the English version by no less a person than Kerala Varma. Though this was not published untill 1894, the work of translation had actually commenced as early as 1882. We cannot, however, concern ourselves with what has been in the womb. *Akbar* was available to Malayalam readers only in 1894, i.e., five years after the publication of *Indulekha*.

The translator's style itself underwent a change in this period of gestation, for the novel starts with a highly Sanskritised and ornate diction and later on the language employed is more simple and direct.[1] On the whole, the book is profound and illuminating. It also had a role in shaping the novels of the language, particularly the historical romances.

Rasselas

Among the early translations of Western novels, two that deserve special mention are renditions of Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas*. The first, published in 1895, was done by Pilo Paul ; the second, published three years later, was done by Kanaran. Kanaran Indianised the title into *Rāsalesika*, and on the whole his translation is more idiomatic.

Other Western novels translated by 1930

It may be of interest to glance through a list of Western novels which appeared in Malayalam by 1930, either as translations or adaptations.

[1] An abbreviated version of the novel in simple language done by Dr. P. K. Narayana Pillai has been published in 1967.

Author	Original title (English version)	Translator	Translated title
Balzac, Honoré de	*Eugene Grandet*	Balakrishna Pillai, A.	*Śandhilyan* (1921)
Defoe, Daniel	*Robinson Crusoe*	Raman Pillai, C. V.	*Robinson Crusoe* (1916)
Dumas, Alexandre	*The Count of Monte Cristo*	Govindan Tampi, K.	*Rājasimhan*
Goldsmith, Oliver	*The Vicar of Wakefield*	Krishna Pillai, P. N.	*Satyakirticharitam* (1930)
Orczy, Baroness	*The Scarlet Pimpernel*	Subramanian Potti, C. S.	*Nilālpalam*
Scott, Sir Walter	*Ivanhoe*	Mammen Mappilai, K. C.	*Ivanhoe* (1928)
Stevenson, R. L.		Madhavan, A.	*Kāminihridayam* (1925)
Hugo, Victor	*Les miserables*	Nalappat	*Pāvanāl* (1925)
Wood, Mrs. Henry	*East Lynne*	Govindan Tampi, K.	*East Lynne* (1930)

Western drama in story form

The following Shakespearean plays have been rendered in prose narrative :

A Midsummer Night's Dream (1907) by Unnikrishna Variyar, *Romeo and Juliet* by V. T. Sankunni Menon, and *Twelfth Night* (1919) by C. P. Thomas.

Indigenous Attempts

More than translations, what influenced Malayalam novels before 1930 was the work of the two celebrities Chandu Menon and C. V. Raman Pillai.

Social novels

Among the social novels, the following deserve to be specially noted:

Pariskarappati (1892) by Kochuthomman Appothecary. This novel depicts the Christian community of Kerala.

Sarasvati Vijayam (1892) by Potheri Kunjampu.

This novel shows how, by good education, the socially ostracised can come up in the world—a truly progressive work.

Virutan Śanku (1912) by Karat Achutha Menon.

Balikāsadanam by Kocheeppan Tharakan, P. K.

Historical novels

Here are some of the well-known historical novels :

Bhutarayar (1923) by Appan Thampuran.

This deals with the early history of Kerala. The diction is simple, but made deliberately antiquarian.

Keraleswaran by Raman Nambisan, T.

Keralaputran (1924) by Ambadi Narayana Poduval.

Cheraman Perumal (1939) by Kappana Krishna Menon.

Unnni Rama Varma (1928) by Sankara Menon, P.

From the above, it can be seen that not only Travancore but Malabar and Cochin too have been taken up by writers who have delved into past history for purposes of fiction.

No one can forget the contribution of Sardar K. M. Panikkar when the historical novels in Malayalam are surveyed. He has written four novels based on Kerala history and two on Indian history. However, most of his contributions come under a later period.

Other categories

There have also been some attempts to write detective novels. The first was that of Appan Thampuran, whose *Bhāskara Menon* was published as early as 1905. He must have derived his inspiration from popular detectives in English fiction. Another novel of the detective type, entitled *Kalante Kolayara*, was written by O. M. Cheriyan in 1918. Here the author acknowledges his indebtedness to an English novel for the theme. This is a well-written book. The author must have borrowed only the skeleton of the English work.

Malayalam also had its sample of political novels. K. Narayana Kurukkal is the well-known author of two such novels. *Pārappuram* (three parts, 1908) and *Udayabhānu* (four parts, 1905). Both are veiled attacks on the then government of Travancore and its corrupt officials. The sting was so strong that the author was forced to resign from government service and the publisher, K. Ramakrishna Pillai, was deported from the state, partly for this and partly for his strong editorial indictment of government policies.

Our object here is not to make a comprehensive survey of Malayalam novels, but to assess the Western influence in the ger-

mination and development of this branch of literature. The influence can be manifested in the following four ways :

1. Original composition : The literary form alone is adopted.
2. Imitation : There are varying degrees of imitation. There may just be acceptance of a theme or there may be the skeleton of a plot or a basic idea.
3. Adaptation : This can range from a loose imitation to a vague trans'ation. Usually the dependence on the original will be evident beyond a doubt, but names and situations will be modified to suit a different cultural background.
4. Translation : In a true translation nothing but the language changes.

It is the second category, namely 'imitation', that is difficult to trace, unless the author himself reveals it. This difficulty is experienced in every language and it is not a happy field for research. The imitation may be deliberate, but there are many times when a similarity could be accidental.

The influence of the West was felt by the Malayalam novel mainly by these four means. In the earlier phase, i.e., before 1930, there were more original works and adaptations, relatively speaking. Later on more translations appeared in the language.

After the solid and stimulating contributions of Chandu Menon and C. V. Raman Pillai, there appeared quite a number of readable novels, though not of the stature of their masterpieces. However, there has been a rather long lull till we come to the period of socialist realism. Despite the lull some newspapers kept the candle burning by serializing novels. The most important among them is the *Malayala Manorama* from Kottayam which serialized a good number of Western novels in translation.

Pāvaṅṅal

The translation of Victor Hugo's *Lēs Miserables* (from the English version) by Nalappat Narayana Menon under the title *Pavannal* (1925) is significant in two ways. While striking a compromise between the effort to be faithful to the original and the attempt to be idiomatic in Malayalam, Nalappat put more weight on faithfulness. And the faithfulness or fidelity was not only as regards ideas, but equally so as regards style and idiom that it captured the atmosphere of the original considerably. Despite

the fact the translation was considered too literal, it cast a great influence on readers and writers in the language. The writers were so inspired by this great novel that it opened up a new era of introducing revolutionary ideas through the literary medium.

The Bengali Novel

Western literature first made its impact felt on the literature of Bengal, and only thereafter did its influence spread to the languages of other regions. Bankim Chandra's *Durgēśanandiṅi* was published as early as 1865, and by 1885 the Bengali language had over fifty novels. The literature of Bengal has influenced other Indian literatures. Quite a few Bengali novels were translated into other Indian languages even before the turn of the century. It is, therefore, a truism to say that Western literature has influenced certain Indian literatures through Bengali. It is no doubt a second-hand or reflected influence, but it is none the less genuine and powerful. As far as Malayalam is concerned, the Western influence was direct. This does not mean that novels in Bengali had no influence at all on Malayalam novels. Their influence, arose rather late in the evolution of literary form and was not dominant. Translations were welcomed as the readers could easily assimilate the Indian atmosphere in them. C. S. Subramanian Potti's translation of *Durgēśanandiṅi* (1903), though done from the English version, gave the Bengali atmosphere well and was welcomed by all as a high class Indian novel. After this several Bengali novels appeared in Malayalam and many Malayalee novelists thought it apt to give Bengali names to their characters.

The well-known novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Sarat Chandra Chatterji, R. C. Dutt, and Rabindranath Tagore have already come into Malayalam. But most of these translations were made after 1930.

A New Emphasis in Novel Writing

The novel in Malayalam gets a fresh vitality and new lease of life after the lull, only when the progressive movement gains momentum. Though the new wave of realism with a social emphasis reached the shores of Kerala in the thirtees of this century, the first fruits were mostly short stories and short plays. However, talented writers of the progressive school were soon seized with a

desire to write novels as is seen from some of their efforts in the forties.

We have already pointed out the main urge for socialist realism as exemplified in the second phase of the modern period. The graph of creative fiction again reached a high level in this phase. The new generation of writers found new horizons in the West, as their interests were not exclusively confined to English alone, though it remained the main link with the West. And the link was so useful and effective that writers and critics could get easy access to the treasures of French, Russian, German, Norwegian, and other Western literatures. They were introduced to the best fiction in these languages. This in turn brought them face to face with the new trends and experiments in these literatures. There was a proletarian emphasis in the new fiction ; the common man became the hero. Life at the lower levels was considered not only a fit subject for creative writing, but most relevant in the changing world where the working class came into focus. Any subject was good enough for fiction. Along with this, the taboo in dealing with the problems of sex was disappearing. Indeed it became quite fashionable to gloat on sex perversions of various kinds.

The generation of writers like Kesava Dev, Thakazhi, Basheer, Varki, and Pottekkad were fired with these exciting and revolutionary ideas. To give them guidance about the various aspects of European literature, they had the great revolutionary and mentor A. Balakrishna Pillai in whom burned an unquenchable fire. Writers and critics of the thirties began to talk about Balzac, Maupassant, Chekhov, Gorky, and Ibsen, and not about Dickens and Scott. Balakrishna Pillai wrote a lot about these Western writers and encouraged his disciples to emulate them. This produced results. Many original novels came to be written. The themes smelt of the native soil, but Western masterpieces gave the authors inspiration and confidence.

The mere titles of some of the early novels indicate the change in trend : *Ōdayil Ninnu* (From the Gutter, 1942), by Kesava Dev ; *Thotti* (The Scavenger, 1947), by R. S. Kurup ; *Thōttiyude Makan* (Son of the Scavenger, 1948), by Thakazhi ; and *Thendi Vargam* (The Beggar Class, 1950) by Thakazhi.

The realism in these novels came as a shock to the ordinary readers in Malayalam. Several novels were also written to incite

class struggle, such as Kesava Dev's *Ulakka* (The Pestle) and Thakazhi's *Rantitannali* (The Two Measures).

As early as 1931, A. Balakrishna Pillai wrote and published a translation of Maupassant's *Bel-Ami*, under the title *Kāmukan*. Balakrishna Pillai is the bearded saint who advocated exposing perversions of sex. Thakazhi and his colleagues were only waiting for an opportunity and they exploited the situation well. Thakazhi's *Patita Pankajam* (The Fallen Lotus) and *Pratiphalam* (The Reward) tore away the veils of taboo. Basheer's *Śabdannal* (The Sounds) is another short novel wherein the treatment of sex is too candid, as in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*.

Novelists also took a great deal of interest in presenting social problems in a gripping manner. Basheer's *Bālyakālasakhi* deals with the Muslim community in Kerala and Muttathu Varki's *Inapravukal* with the Christian ; Thakazhi's Chemmeen paints the life of the fisher folk in the coastal regions ; and Kesava Dev's *Ayalkkar* depicts the composite community life in Kerala during the past three generations, the Hindu element being preponderant. P. C. Kuttikrishnan's *Ummaccu* gives a good picture of life in Malabar. Only a few names have been given here, but there are several other novelists who contributed very good novels. It is not difficult to find traces of Western influence here and there ; but that is not necessary. Most of the fiction writers of this phase have been influenced by Western masters, particularly those of Russian and French origin.

M. P. Paul sees D. H. Lawrence in Vaikkom Muhammad Basheer, although Basheer himself does not feel that he has been particularly influenced by D. H. L. or any such Western writer.[1] Therefore, it means only that there is similarity in the approaches of these authors. Most of our contemporary fiction writers were influenced by Maupassant and Chekhov. Maupassant's stamp is clear in Pottekad's writing and Chekhov has influenced Thakazhi in his early days. Freud and Jung come indirectly into some of the contemporary fiction. According to M. P. Paul, Thakazhi shows the influence of Joyce in his earlier novels, such as *Pratiphalam*, but changes over to Zola in his *Rantitannali*. It is possible to see many similarities and clear influences of the West in some of the Malayalam novels, but it is difficult to prove them. We shall refer

[1] Vide the chapter on the short story for a more detailed account of Basheer's reaction to this question.

to the reaction of some authors on this question at the end of the next chapter.

In form, theme, and technique the Malayalam novel depicts considerable Western influence. We have tried all kinds of techniques and all manner of subjects. We have the social, detective, psychological, behaviouristic, and surrealistic novels. A. Balakrishna Pillai has written a book, *Novel prasthānannal* (1947), in which he briefly describes the various techniques tried in the West. This has given good guidance to the writers of the rising generation.

As we have already pointed out, Thakazhi and his compeers had raised the graph of quality in fiction writing by the fifties. They are still active and productive. And it is gratifying that a second line of writers is coming up well. They are sure to see that there is no decline in the graph. The more important among this younger generation of novelists are M. T. Vasudevan Nair, Parappurathu, G. Vivekanandan, K. Surendran, Kovilan, and Cherukad. They are not imitators of the West, though they enjoy the Western novels and when possible emulate new techniques popularized in the West. To cite only one example, three or four of them have tried the 'stream of consciousness' technique popularized by James Joyce and Virginia Woolf. Three recent novels which might be referred to in this connection are: *Pani Tiratta Vidu* (The Unfinished House) and *Ara nāzhika neram* both by Parappurathu; *Manju* (The Fog) by M. T. Vasudevan Nair; and *Verukal* (The Roots) by Malayattoor Ramakrishnan. They are worthwhile experiments in dealing with the mysterious working of the mind, revealing the 'flickerings of that innermost flame', as Virginia Woolf put it.

The writers of this new generation are not bound by any specific political ideology. They are not imitators of any particular author, Western or Eastern. By the time they had come to the scene the West had already moulded the Malayalam novel. They see the works of their seniors and predecessors in the language, they look to the West for new techniques and trends, and they look around for inspiration. Though they have a lot of individuality and originality to claim, the Western impact on them is undeniably marked.[1]

[1] For a select list of Western novels which have been translated or adapted into Malayalam, see Appendix C.

Chapter IX

THE SHORT STORY

Though the short story has an independent status as a literary form, it is very much allied to the novel, and that is why these have a common designation, 'Fiction.' In a way it would have been convenient to treat both the novel and the short story in one chapter, though this has some disadvantages also. Most of the novelists are short-story writers also, the converse being equally true. Because of common ground there is bound to be some repetition of the previous chapter here. However, a good deal of it can be avoided by making the discussion brief.

Short stories began to appear during the first half of the nineteenth century in Germany, the United States, Russia, and France almost simultaneously. This form does not seem to have attracted the early fiction writers of Malayalam. They wrote only novels. However, there was a general craze for short pieces in literature towards the beginning of this century, particularly in the second and third decades. Poets wrote *khanda Kavyam* (short poems) and story writers produced *Ceru katha* (short stories). This was not because people did not have time to read longer pieces ; mainly, it was the fashion and the periodicals were there to cater to them conveniently.

The short story in Malayalam is a well-developed branch, better developed than the novel. The impact of the West is responsible for the budding and blossoming of the short story proper. The development of the short story is similar to that of the novel, and three phases can be clearly discerned in it.

To Amuse

The initial influence came from American authors. The earlier short stories in Malayalam were imitative of Washington Irving, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Edgar Allan Poe. The main consideration was to amuse readers with an invented narrative with limited characters. Among the early writers Oduvil Kunju Krishna Menon, C. Kunhi Rama Menon (M.R.K.C.), Ambady Narayana

Poduval, K. Sukumaran, and E. V. Krishna Pillai deserve special mention.

Kunju Krishna Menon's stories are neither short nor long. Four of them have been compiled in *Nālu kathakal*. All of them have a pair of lovers facing obstacles which are finally removed. No social problem is brought in. The idea is to while away time by engaging in an anecdote. The stories of M.R.K.C. are not far different except that he chose them from history. Poduval was fascinating because of the quality of his prose. He was quite conscious of the sound value of his diction. K. Sukumaran was the most prolific among them. He won wide acclaim as an entertaining writer. E. V. Krishna Pillai brought humour of a high level. The periodicals were quite eager to welcome stories from his pen. His short stories are collected in four volumes of *Kelisaudham*. As a humourist and playwright, E. V. has earned lasting fame, but he started his literary career as a short story writer.

There are also others—like Bhavatratan Nambudiripad and S. Rama Varier—who wrote good short stories before the transition of the short story into something more than mere entertainment. The influence of the West, particularly of American short stories in the early phase, is beyond question.

To Challenge

When we come to the thirties of this century, the short story in Malayalam attains a seriousness and maturity never known before. It was in the vanguard of progressive literature and became the most influential and powerful literary form, actually converting Malayalam to a literature of challenge—challenge in all directions and of all conventions, religious, social, bureaucratic, and political. Kesava Dev, Thakazhi, Ponkunnam Varki, and a few others sent out a continuous barrage of question marks, through their short stories. The literary world woke up as never before. They got their inspiration not from Hawthorne or Poe, but from Maupassant, Chekhov, and Flaubert. The Russian and French short-story writers gave them the lead and the ' powder ' was already in them. The second phase (1930-1947) could be likened to a huge fireworks display which filled the whole sky. The detonators carried the fire and the rockets shot up in all directions, producing

sound and light. The firmament of Kerala literature was filled with short stories of challenge.

Several writers distinguished themselves as fine short-story writers. Some of them came under the direct influence of the West while others felt its indirect influence. Of those who were ' charged ' directly, the names of Thakazhi, Kesava Dev, Basheer, E.M. Kovoor, and Nagavalli R. S. Kurup should be specially mentioned. Others who are equally distinguished in the field, like Ponkunnam Varki, Karoor, P. C. Kuttikrishnan, Lalitambika Antarjanam, and, Vettoor Raman Nair, do not owe their allegiance to the West in so direct a manner. There are also others nearly as distinguished, but their number is so large that it is not possible to list them here. Many of these distinguished short-story writers have hundreds of stories to their credit. As regards the quantity of short-story production, it has been generally assessed that over fifteen hundred collections have been published in a period of thirty years.

A large percentage of short stories thus published can be treated as original. These stories are all in a Kerala setting. The characters may be Pappu or Sankaran Nair, Chirutha or Lakshmikutty. But what do they convey ? What is their message ? Some bring in rationalism or humanism ; some others advocate socialism or totalitarianism ; still others speak about democracy and liberalism —and all these are Western ideas. This shows the great influence of the West on the Malayalam short story, which is the popular medium for mass contact.

To Understand

Years of observation, thought, and creative expression have convinced some of the stalwarts of fiction that life is very much more than a set of ideologies. They have also come to realise that ' To challenge is easier than to understand ' the complexities of life. Their later writings show a more sombre and mature attitude. They have gone deeper into life, and the aggressive quality of their approach has been tamed. A new generation of short-story writers has inherited the changed outlook in the free age. Some of them write very well indeed, and a few of them exhibit powers of observation and understanding which their predecessors could not claim to an equal degree. It will not come as a surprise if some of them surpass their predecessors in due course.

There are dozens of new writers who write readable stories. Among them, the most outstanding are M. T. Vasudevan Nair, Parappurathu, Madhavikutty, V. K. N., Kovilan, and Nandanar. They are slowly proving that the short story in Malayalam has not reached a level of saturation as some critics feared. In both content and form, innovations are being tried. Now the focal point is the 'mind' and not the 'stomach' as it was a few years ago. The new writers make you feel the story. Content and form have become almost inseparable. They are, to a considerable degree, influenced by the new trends in the West in story writing. They are familiar with the stories of Kafka, Thomas Mann, Chekhov, Joyce, Steinbeck, Hemingway, Mansfield, and O. Henry.

What Writers Feel about Western Influence

While preparing the materials for this book, it was considered useful to get an idea of what contemporary writers feel on the question of Western influence. A simple questionnaire was prepared to elicit the required information and sent to about sixty writers in Malayalam who have made their mark on contemporary literature. Care was taken not to omit any groups whether based on age or ideological persuasion.[1]

About twenty-five writers were good enough to give information and share their thoughts with this writer. Relevant references to their replies will be made in this and following chapters depending upon the major area of their interest or influence. However, it may be worthwhile to make some general observations at this point.

The senior and well-established writers were found to be more cooperative in sharing their thoughts. Actually very few young writers have responded. The influence on them should be fresh in their memories. Perhaps they do not want to commit themselves at this stage of their career. And a majority of the senior writers have expressed a common difficulty in sorting out the true nature of Western influence on themselves and their works. They have

[1] The following were the topics on which information was sought.
1. Names of Western writers who have influenced me.
2. Outstanding Western books which have influenced my writing.
3. Details of works translated.
4. Details of works adapted.
5. A note on the works which show Western influence in full or in parts, indicating the nature of the influence.

read and appreciated a large number of outstanding Western authors, and they agree that there has been a many-sided and cumulative influence. The difficulty is to ascertain which authors or which works were responsible for the dominant influence. Kainikkara Padmanabha Pillai has given terse expression to this difficulty in the following words : 'It is not possible to analyse and point out which aspect is the result of this influence, or which writer or book. For the total resultant influence is not a mechanical mixture, but a chemical compound in which the ingoing elements no longer stand separate and maintain their identity.' This is quite understandable, for the assimilation of foreign things, whether it be physical or mental, is normally a silent and unspectacular affair. One does not know which of the foods one has taken has given one more energy and sustenance. One is seldom conscious of the effect of food except when something upsets one. This happens in the literary realm also, but this is a valid area in which to seek information, as it gives an idea of preferences and dislikes. Despite the above difficulty, we can assess, at least in a general way, the manner in which a writer has been influenced if we get a good idea about his preferences and opportunities, by which we mean the writings he has been exposed to.

Another point which was brought home by reading the replies is that even writers who could not have had direct access to the West, because of their unfamiliarity with Western languages, were definitely influenced by the West. Though the influence is indirect, it is none the less genuine.

It is neither possible nor necessary to refer to all the replies received. However, we shall here take up the replies given by a few story writers (both novelists and short-story writers) who may be considered representative.

P. Kesava Dev

Kesava Dev says that he has neither translated nor adapted any Western work, but he has enjoyed reading Victor Hugo, Balzac, Romain Rolland, Tolstoy, Maxim Gorky, H. G. Wells, Bernard Shaw, Upton Sinclair, Galsworthy and Ibsen.

Of the books which have influenced him considerably he mentions the following : *Jean Christophe*, R. Rolland ; *Les Miserables*, Hugo ; *Anna Karenina*, Tolstoy ; *Mother*, Gorky ; *Man and Superman*, Shaw ; and *The Mob*, Galsworthy.

Vaikom Muhammad Basheer

A few extracts from his interesting letter are given below.[1]

'I can readily say that I have not been influenced by any literature, Western or Eastern, for, when I started writing I had no idea of literature. (Even now it is not much different.) It is only after I had written quite a bit, that I had opportunities to contact Western literature. I read all that I could get hold of—Somerset Maugham, Steinbeck, Maupassant, Flaubert, Romain Rolland, Gorky, Chekhov, Hemingway, Pearl S. Buck, Shakespeare, Galsworthy, Shaw. . . . In fact, I organized one or two bookstalls so that I could get more books to read. But I read these books mainly to know their craft. I myself had plenty of experience to write about! I have even now!

I am unable to ascertain who has influenced me. Perhaps, Romain Rolland and Steinbeck—but even they, not much.'

E. M. Kovoor

Kovoor is fully conscious of his indebtedness to Western literature. 'I can safely say that as a writer, I have been most influenced by Western literature and Western writers, especially the English essayists and the novels of Tolstoy, Galsworthy, Sinclair Lewis, etc. It was the latter two and Shaw that introduced me to the topic and need of social justice.'

The following are the writers who have influenced him : Goldsmith, Addison, Steele, Lamb, Hazlitt, Hunt, Stevenson, Dickens, Thackeray, Emerson, Aldous Huxley, Gardiner, Lucas, Lynd, Doyle, Bennett, Wells, Hardy, Maugham, Cronin, Hemingway, Sinclair, Lewis, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Chekhov, Maupassant, George Eliot, Carlyle, Burke, Priestley, Thomas Mann, Galsworthy, Ibsen, Shaw, and Hall Caine. Kovoor is a well-known fiction writer and essayist in Malayalam. Though many Western works have influenced him, he particularly underlines *Essays of Elia*, as well as the essays of Goldsmith, Addison, and Steele, and the short stories of Tolstoy, Maupassant, and Chekhov.

From a writer like Kovoor, who is so conscious of his assimilation of Western ideas and technique, we pass on to a few important writers who are not very familiar with English. Ponkunnam Varki, whose short stories and dramas are well known for their

[1] The letter is in Malayalam. The translation is the author's.

vigour and revolutionary content, admits that he has been considerably influenced by Victor Hugo's novels, which he has read in translation. Another senior short-story writer, Karoor Nilakanta Pillai, informs that he was inspired to write short stories by reading the Malayalam translation of some stories of Maupassant. He also confesses that he has read the translation of Hugo's *Les Miserables* three times, but still he is not sure whether these have influenced him, though he feels that Hugo and Maupassant might have shown a way to find writing materials in this vast open area of human life. Compared to the above, the reaction of Vettoor Raman Nair, another fiction writer of standing, is worth noticing. He says he has not read many Western books but the few works he has read have caused only a reaction in him. 'Life in the West is considerably different and it cannot tune with what we have here. In any case, I feel that I have not been influenced.'

There are a few more replies which could be brought in line with one or other of the foregoing. The opinions and reactions given above are sincere and genuine, though we cannot imagine that what the writers have given, or are capable of giving, is the whole truth. It is true that certain things can be known only directly from them, but these things are subjective. The objective assessment is equally valuable and there are other things which can be known from observers and critics.

It is not difficult to screen the stories and sort out some Western elements. The authors themselves will agree that they have been influenced by Western models. However, any similarity that others may observe need not necessarily mean imitation. Yet the general trend can be characterized as unmistakably Western. Several Western stories have appeared in Malayalam by way of translation. They also exercise some influence on writers and readers. A large majority of present-day fiction writers in the language know English, though some of them may not get access to all the well-known works available in English. In any case, it seems desirable to give a list of important novels and stories that have appeared in Malayalam by way of translation. The list (given as Appendix-C) is not exhaustive, but sufficient to indicate the kind of fiction that has gained popularity in the language.

CHAPTER X

POETRY

Background and Tradition

UNLIKE prose, poetry in Malayalam had had a fairly long tradition before the West cast its influence. In the shaping of the tradition the part played by Sanskrit is significant, though its influence has been neither uniform nor constant. In every century there were poets who wanted Malayalam literature to emulate Sanskrit. At the same time there were also poets who deliberately gave prominence to popular Malayalam, incorporating Sanskrit elements only when necessary. The pull against Sanskrit gained an added momentum with the coming of Western influence. But it was channelled more in the direction of prose than verse. As far as verse was concerned, the influence of Sanskrit was more prevailing. That is why we find that even though novels became popular during the last decade of the nineteenth century, *Mahakavyas* and *Sandeśa-kavyas* of the Sanskrit pattern continued to be a great craze among poets till about the second decade of the twentieth century. Even Kerala Varma (1845-1915), who did so much to usher in the Western type of education, maintained two different views about the future of prose and verse. He was all out for getting prose works—biographies, essays, and writings of an informative kind—written after the English fashion, both in form and content. But as regards verse, he stuck to the conservative *Manipravāla* pattern evolved under the compelling influence of Sanskrit. He had no objection to the content being different, but the form had to be traditional. Kerala Varma's well-known message-poem *Mayurasandeśam* (Peacock-Messenger) is cast in the *neo manipravala* style, though the core of the subject is his own personal experience. A. R. Rajaraja Varma (1863-1918), grammarian, poet and critic, did not see eye to eye with his uncle and *guru*, Kerala Varma. He felt that Malayalam should free itself from the tutelage of Sanskrit both in content and form, and that in its onward march as an independent literature, it could profitably learn many things from English.

These two stalwarts wielded great influence on contemporary poets and critics and each had his own supporters when the ideological difference culminated in a conflict in the name of *Prasavadam* (controversy on rhyme). Actually the rhyme was only one of the points of difference in this clash. It was a trial of strength between the traditional approach and the modern approach in the matter of composing poetry.

What were the traits of Malayalam poetry upheld by the traditionalists?

(1) A poem should be built around a well-known story, puranic or historical.

(2) It should abound in elaborate descriptions; among them, certain stock ones—of the mountains, the sea, the seasons, etc.—are considered indispensable.

(3) There should be a plethora of *alankārās* (figures of speech), the more fanciful the better.

(4) Alliteration and rhyme are essential features of good poetry, *Dvitīyāksaraprāsam* (rhyme on the second syllable of each foot) is a must.

(5) The metres employed should be chosen from among the Sanskrit metres.

(6) The poem should evoke a sense of wonder, and each stanza should convince the reader of the poet's scholarship and mastery of the poetic craft.

In other words, rhetoric rather than imagination had the upper hand. The great influence of Sanskrit poetics and the Sanskrit *Mahākāvya* is clearly seen in the above characteristics.

As the field was comparatively limited, poets vied with one another to produce something extraordinary and clever. This led to a partiality for heavy compounds laden with *alankārās*. It was a case of the letter damaging the spirit. Stagnation set in in the unwelcome competition to compose a *Mahākāvya*. A. R. Rajaraja Varma and a few others who had assimilated the free spirit of English poetry were able to question the trend and provoke a change in the attitude of some of the leading poets. What were the basic differences in the new approach?

(1) Until then Malayalam had had, by and large, only objective poetry, of the narrative (epic and ballad) and dramatic (*Āttakkatha*) types. The modernists felt that there should not be any limitation in the choice of the subject. To

them any subject was suitable for poetry provided it fired the imagination of the poet. As a welcome change, subjective poetry of the kind popular in the West should be introduced.

(2) Descriptions for their own sake are considered undesirable. They are apt only if they serve the general spirit and aim of the poem.

(3) Too many *alaṅkārās* make the poem laboured and artificial. The poet should not consciously fit in the figures of speech as if they are indispensable. If they come naturally, it is all right to use them.

(4) The choice of words with suitable sounds has, certainly, a place in composing verse; but to think that this is mechanically bound up with a particular cycle or that it always rests on the repetition of the second syllable in each foot is silly. Subservience to any such rigid system may lead to unnecessary stretching and twisting of the natural syntax and word formation. An undue emphasis on a particular sound will become a temptation to sacrifice sense for the sake of sound.

(5) The poet should be free to choose any metre he likes. There is no need to stick to the rigid Sanskrit metres. The indigenous Malayalam metres evolved from folk tunes are particularly suitable for lyrical pieces as they are more musical and flexible.

(6) Though it is good to build on past achievements, writers should not become imitators of formalistic patterns. In poetry it is imagination (*bhāvana*) that is important, not fancy (*kalpana*). The art should have prominence over the craft.

The change in ideology set forth above, as expressed (in similar words) by Rajaraja Varma and his team, was by and large a result of the impact of Western literature on them. Even before *Prasavādam* developed into a literary crisis, some poets were angling for a change. As pointed out earlier, a clear-cut change in the manner of composition is noticeable only after the turn of the century, but even before, the urge to free Malayalam poetry from the shackles of the ornate Sanskrit tradition was unquestionably there.

Initial Stirrings

Despite his great preoccupation with writing standard books on grammar, prosody, and poetics, Rajaraja Varma indulged in literary excursions too. He brought out an elegant translation of Kalidasa's *Meghadut* without the second-syllable rhyme. This was sufficient to indicate that rhyme was not indispensable to good poetry. He also composed an original short poem *Malayavilasam* (1895) in which he conveys the experiences he had while passing through the hilly regions and forests of the Western Ghats in his journey from Madras to Kerala. Though we have many stanzas of descriptions here, the subjective element is dominant. In due course, he was able to persuade Kerala Varma, who wrote *Mayurasandesam* in the ornate orthodox style, to compose a short poem (*Khandakavyam*) free from the rigidity of the second-syllable rhyme and *Manipravala* type of compounds. The title of his *Khandakavyam* is *Daivayogam*.

The *Khandakavyam*, which disregards the rules enumerated in *Kavyadarsa* regarding descriptions, etc., slowly made its appearance in the literary dove-cots of Kerala. Kunhikuttan Thampuran gave support to this new movement by composing two short poems. One of these was entitled *Thuppal Kolambi*, i.e., a spittoon, a subject which could never before have been considered worthy of a poet's imagination. The other poem is *Madirasi Yatra* (A Journey to Madras) which has certain features of the modern lyric. K. C. Kesava Pillai, who wrote a whole *Mahakavya* entitled *Kesaviyam* in which he deliberately eschewed the second-syllable rhyme, composed a moving short poem on the thoughts of a man about to die. There was a competition to compose a poem of a hundred stanzas on this subject, and Kesava Pilla's *Asannamaranacintasatakam* won the prize. This has the usual rhyme and alliteration, but it struck a new note at a time when neo-classical writing was in vogue, for a romantic and subjective element is unmistakeable in the poem.

The change of tradition was considerably strengthened by the publication of a few elegies in the language. It is noteworthy that the romantic tradition was really ushered in by a few elegies. This means that the emotional aspect of poetry gained the upper hand. We now come to a number of poets who enjoyed the elegies in English, particularly Tennyson's *In Memoriam*. The elegy, as a poetic form, was practically unheard of in Malayalam.

Oru Vilapam (A Lament) by C. S. Subramanian Potti was written in 1903. The subject was the death of his child. Then we have *Priya Vilapam* (Lament for a Friend) written at about the same time by M. Rajaraja Varma. It bemoans the death of Prince Aswati Thirunal. A third elegy was composed by V. C. Balakrishna Panikkar (1889-1915), who died very young. This work also has the title *Oru Vilapam* (1909) and shows the great influence of Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*. The death from cholera of the hero's young love is the theme for the poem. In these examples we see poetry flowing from the very bottom of the poet's heart and that is why the poems appealed so greatly to the readers. The elegy was definitely a change from the narrative type of poetry which was current in the language.

The acme of the elegiac type of poetry came with the composition of *Oru Vina Puvu* (A Fallen Flower) by Kumaran Asan in 1908. It was a symbolic elegy and hence was everyone's elegy. Asan was able to project a whole life while looking at a fallen flower. Flowers were not uncommon to poets in the language. In fact there is hardly a poet who does not seek the help of some attractive flower—the lotus or jasmine or rose—in describing beauty and charm. But no one had so far taken up a fallen flower about to be submerged in the mud and forgotten, as a fit subject for poetry. This produced a thrill and passed a current of emotion through the hearts of all *Sahridayas*.

We shall devote more space to the poetic contributions of Asan presently. At this juncture however, another reference to V. C. Balakrishna Panikkar cannot be avoided. His *Viswarupam* (A Vision of the Universe) written four years after *Oru Vilapam* is an outstanding piece of romantic poetry. The poet stands on the seashore in the evening and becomes almost one with nature—the stars, the moon, the waves, and the rest of his surroundings. A 'spontaneous overflow of powerful feeling' is caught in charming verses. It reminds one of Addison's poem beginning 'Soon as the evening shades . . . .' Anyone who reads the gripping poem, will realise how unfortunate it was for Malayalam poetry that he died so young.

Early Translations of English Poems

Apart from the elegy, Malayalam has borrowed a large number of poetic forms such as the ode, the sonnet, the dramatic monologue, etc. It has also imbibed the spirit of many an English poem. But comparatively speaking, direct translations from English are few. The chief reason may be that poetry is the last literary form to surrender to the translator's magic. Poetry is so much bound with the word pattern of the language that when the medium is changed, much of the spirit is lost. It is for this reason that Robert Frost sought to define poetry as that which is lost in translation. Despite this general trait, poetry has been translated into various languages with a fair measure of success.

Some of the Malayalam writers who were inspired by English poetry wanted to give some idea of it to others who were unfamiliar with the Western tongue. In the chapter on drama we refer to the translations of Shakespeare's plays by Kunhikuttan Thampuran and A. Govinda Pillai. These renderings or adaptations are in Malayalam verse and were done during the closing decades of the last century. Milton's *Paradise Lost* was translated by Raman Menon in 1905.

Govinda Pillai's (1849-1925) *Navaratnamālika* (1901) contains translations of Gray's Elegy, Longfellow's *A Psalm of Life*, Goldsmith's *Edwin and Angelena* and six other English poems. Most of these were translated in the first decade of this century. The poems are reported to have been taken from *One Thousand and One Gems of English poetry*. Matthew Arnold's *Sohrab and Rustum* was translated by C. S. Subramanian Potti about 1910 (2nd edition, 1918). Another translation worthy of notice is that of *The Light of Asia* (by Edwin Arnold) by Kumaran Asan under the title *Sri Buddha Charitam*. Though the translation was started in 1903 it was completed only in 1913.

Wordsworth's *Michael* was translated by C. P. Parameswaran Pillai under the name *Āgasmēram* (1912). Pillai also translated Tennyson's *Dora* under the title *Radha*, and *Enoch Arden* under the title *Hema* (1918). Charles Kingsley's poem *The Sands of Dee* seems to have inspired M. R. Krishna Warier's *Kurumba*. He has also adapted *Lord Ullin's Daughter* by Thomas Campbell. Pallathu Raman who was considerably influenced by Wordsworth has translated his *Lucy Gray* under the title *Mālini*. He has also been

influenced by Shelley and Keats. Goldsmith's *The Traveller* was translated by Sasthamangalam Ramakrishna Pillai under the title *Sancari* (1929) as also Wordsworth's *Michael* (1929). Perhaps this is sufficient to show the interest of our poets in English poetry in those early days.

The Great Trio of Malayalam Poetry

Till the end of the first decade of this century, the mainstream of Malayalam poetry flowed in the neo-classical tradition, though there were sidestreams of romantic poetry—poetry which was either translated from or inspired by English poetry. But the second decade witnessed great changes. There was then a great flow of romantic poetry modelled on English poetry of the same genre. Actually the golden period of modern Malayalam poetry comprised the second and third decades of the present century. Three poets were responsible for this great revival. They are Kumaran Asan (1873-1924), Vallathol Narayana Menon (1879-1958), and Ulloor Parameswara Iyer (1877-1949). They are usually referred to as the 'Great Trio' of modern poetry. Asan, the oldest of the three, started his serious literary career rather late, but was very productive during the last fifteen years of his life. The poetical careers of both Vallathol and Ulloor commenced before the turn of the century and continued on till the middle of it, although the best poetry flowed from them during the second and third decades. Each was distinguished in his own way. Each recognized the merits of the others, and they vied with each other with such salutary results that poems of exquisite quality were written ushering in a great age for Malayalam poetry. They accelerated the process of de-Sanskritization and facilitated Westernization in the texture of Malayalam poetry. It would be interesting to examine the contribution of these stalwarts with special reference to the quantum of Western influence perceptible in their works.

Let us take a glance at the background and career of these great poets. All three could claim unquestionable scholarship in Malayalam and Sanskrit and all had good grounding in the traditional poetic craft. As regards formal education, Ulloor was the most fortunate. He held M.A. and B.L. degrees from the Madras University and was a high-ranking officer in the former Travancore Government. Asan had a good working knowledge of English,

though he had no opportunity for schooling in English. He went out from Kerala to pursue higher studies in Sanskrit, living first in Bangalore and then in Madras, and later pursuing his studies in Calcutta. In Calcutta he became acquainted with the Bengali language and its literature. This sojourn, which lasted for nearly four years, broadened his vision and sharpened his imagination. His education was gained in the traditional way under Sanskrit scholars. But all the while he was learning English by himself. Vallathol's education was in Sanskrit and Ayurveda. He had practically no knowledge of English. Thus, as far as knowledge of English is concerned, the poets may be placed in the following order :

Ulloor, Asan, Vallathol.

However, as regards influence of the West on their poetical compositions, they must be placed in a different order :

Asan, Vallathol, Ulloor.

This may appear somewhat strange, but it is none the less true.

Each poet has an individuality of his own. The reactions of each to foreign literature and the way in which it infused enthusiasm for creative effort differ considerably. All of them had a lot of creative power latent in them, but the manner in which it could be ignited differed appreciably. A slight friction is enough to ignite a match and produce light where darkness prevails, and this is achieved in a split second without the help of a naked flame. But if we have a palm-leaf torch we must keep it near a fire for a few seconds to get it lit. Then it throws light around a whole area. Now take an iron rod. You cannot light it by friction or even by putting it in contact with an open fire. If you keep it in the fire for a rather long time, it will glow red. Even then it will not produce light as the other two do.

Vallathol's *Pratibha* (creative power) was like that of the match. He could experience the impact of English poetry only at second hand, but that was enough for him. Asan had opportunities for direct contact with Western literature as well as for indirect contact through Bengali literature. And these contacts produced an effective and enduring light, like that of the palm-leaf torch. Ulloor had more opportunities and longer contacts with the best in the Western literature, but in him only a glow was produced.

As one example to illustrate the differing type of reactions, let us take the traditional *Mahākāvya*, which was a must for every writer in those days who hoped to be considered a major poet. Asan

decided not to write a *Mahākāvya* but to create only poems of a modern type. He had the courage to be different. Vallathol wrote *Citrayōgam*, a *Mahākāvyam* which has some merits, but his admirers consider it only as an early work which gave him experience in the craft of composing verses. When he realised the possibility of romantic poetry, Vallathol had a rebirth, so to say. Ulloor produced *Umākeralam*, an excellent *Mahākāvyam*, which is one of his best works and one of the best in the language. This shows that he had a classical bias. He was more orthodox than the other two in literary pursuits and tastes, despite the fact that he had a better modern education. This trait was dominant in him even though he experimented with all new forms. Now let us take each poet separately and assess how the West stimulated creative energies in them.

Kumaran Asan, the revolutionary

When Asan made his debut with his *Oru Vīna puvu* (A Fallen Flower) he was already thirty-five. By that time he had some acquaintance with a few Indian literatures, particularly Bengali, and he had come into contact with writers of languages other than Malayalam. He understood how Bengali poetry had progressed under the influence of English and appreciated the great charm of lyrics with a romantic emphasis. It is reported that Asan made frequent use of *The Golden Treasury* (Palgrave's anthology of English poetry) as evidenced from the copy in his personal library. He also made use of *One Thousand* and *one Gems of English Poetry*. His favourite poets were Shelley, Keats, and Browning. From Calcutta he came back to Kerala with a determination to try his hand at the romantic type of poetry, but it was some time before he could do so as he was deeply involved in social and religious activities under the guidance of Sri Narayana Guru. The first fruits came with *Oru Vīna Puvu*, which blazed a new trail in the literary firmament. In many a stanza, the flower is addressed as if it were a human being. A popular literary critic S. Guptan Nair sees here a resemblance to Wordsworth who addresses flowers and clouds as 'thou.'[1]

[1] Guptan Nair—Isaṅna|kkappuṟam, p. 34.

A few verses from *Vina Puvu* are given below :[a]

Ah, lovely bloom, once thou didst shine
High like a Queen !
How sad thou liest now in dust,
Shorn of thy sheen !
Inconstant is Fortune on earth,
Impermanent is Loveliness . . . .

And growing thus thy features showed
Charms exquisite ;
Thy countenance did slowly change
Thy cheeks were lit,
O Flower, with a new-born light,
A new-born smile through them did fit . . . .

O eyelids, fold on humid eyes !
For soon this bloom
Will shrivel, rot and turn to dust ;
This is the doom
For all ; and what can tears avail ?
Alas, our life is but a dream !

Oru Vina Puvu was soon followed by two *Khandakāvyas*, *Nalini* (1911) and *Lila* (1914) which are love poems. There was no dearth of love poems in Malayalam, but these were love poems with a difference. Malayalam experienced for the first time an expression of love that transcended sex. In this regard Shelley seems to have influenced Asan. Each poem is built upon a new story, which blossoms forth in an unconventional, dramatic way.

In *Nalini*, the poem starts with the dramatic reunion of the lovers Divakaran and Nalini. Their story unfolds itself before us in the course of their conversation and through other references to it. As children they grow up in each other's company and in due course Nalini realises that Divakaran is everything to her. But, seemingly unaware of the full implications of her affection and regard, Divakaran becomes a *sanyāsin* and leaves for an unknown destination. Nalini refuses to marry the person chosen for her by her

[a] Tr. by Manjeri Isvaran.
For a full rendering of the poem in English see *A Survey of Malayalam Literature* (by K. M. George), pp. 229-230.

parents and tries to end her life in a Himalayan lake. She is providentially saved by a woman ascetic who welcomes her to her hermitage. There Nalini lives, expecting to meet her lover some day. And it happens ! The poem opens with this unexpected meeting of the lovers. While reading *Nalini* one is reminded of Goldsmith's famous poem, *Edwin and Anjelena.*

The story of *Lila* is somewhat similar in the sense that it tells of the forced separation of two lovers, but separation for a different reason. Finally, the lovers are brought together, though the scene moves to a tragic end. The lovers in this story move on a plane not as elevated as that of *Nalini.*

Both in theme and form, the poems have moved away from the conventional pattern, and this whiff of fresh air brought great delight to the lovers of poetry in Malayalam. Asan caught the feel of the Bengali literary renaissance brought about by Madhusudan Dutt, Bankim Chandra, and Tagore, who in turn had been greatly influenced by the West. Asan was fond of Wordsworth and Arnold, as well as of Shelley and Browning. He became a pathfinder and a revolutionary in Malayalam poetry. First, it was introducing the romantic lyric with an unusual intensity of feeling, for which he owed a considerable debt to the West. Even in an epic story he was able to create this feeling. That is what happened in the case of *Cintāviṣṭayāya Sita* (Sita lost in Thought, 1919). The poet catches a most dramatic moment in the life of Sita, and her feelings as she looks at her past life are strung together in a long chain of exquisite verses. When the sage Valmiki takes her two sons to Rama's court to participate in the Horse Sacrifice, Sita sits in the solitude of the hermitage and the pent up emotions flow in a breathtaking manner. The story is old, the characters are old, the locale is old, but most of what Asan puts in Sita's mind is delightfully fresh and gripping. Both in *Sita* and in parts of *Lila*, the technique of dramatic monologue so powerfully introduced by Browning has been effectively tried by Asan.

From this Asan passes on to something more revolutionary, something which touched the very fibre of his being. Asan was a member of the Ezhava community, which suffered from social backwardness. He wanted to pose a great challenge to the hollowness and injustice of the caste system. Impelled by this motive, he wrote two poems, *Duravastha* (A Tragic State) and *Chandāla-bhiksuki*, which together caused a great commotion in the literary

world. In *Duravastha*, a high caste Nambudiri lady marries an untouchable. In *Chaṇḍālabhikṣuki*, a Chandala maiden becomes a nun of the Buddhist order. The king objects to the entry of this low-caste woman into the *Sangham*, but he is finally convinced of his folly. These stories gave sufficient opportunity for the poet to tear to pieces the cramping conventions of caste and religion. And this is done without prejudice to poetic excellence.

In his last major poem *Karuna* (Compassion), which is hailed as his masterpiece, Asan takes up the deeper issues of life in general. The skeleton of the story is taken from Buddhist lore. It is the story of the love of the courtesan Vasavadatha for the Buddhist monk Upagupta and of her conversion. The tragic story becomes a poem of remarkable power and exquisite charm.

In all these poems, Asan proved himself considerably different from his predecessors and contemporaries. On this score alone there were orthodox, old-fashioned critics who opposed him. They could not stand his revolutionary ideas. He not only introduced new ideas and new forms ; in some poems he rejected the conventional Sanskrit metres and accepted Malayalam metres. In the poems referred to above, Asan has not copied any English poem, but it is clear that the general trend and spirit exemplified in them are Western. The romantic poem with lyrical emphasis finds its first great expression in his poems.

Asan translated an English poem into Malayalam, Sir Edwin Arnold's *The Light of Asia* under the title *Sri Buddha Caritam* (1913). He also translated the prose work *As A Man Thinketh* by Allen James (Maṅaśśakti).[3] Another work which shows clearly the impact of English poetry on him is the elegy entitled *Pṛarōdaṅam* in which he mourns the death of A. R. Rajaraja Varma, who incidentally contributed an excellent foreword to his first major lyric *Naḷiṅi*. *Pṛarōdaṅam*, which is marked by its philosophic depths and genuineness of feeling, has been considerably influenced by Shelley's *Adonais*. Some people see the echo of Thomas Gray's 'The boast of Heraldry, the pomp of power . . . . ' in the stanza ' Kaṣṭam Sthāṅa Valippamō . . . . ' There are also quite a few shorter lyrics which we have not enumerated here.

Thus we can say confidently that it is Asan who brought into vogue the Malayalam lyric, having been inspired by English poems

[3] Asan also adapted *Tara* (a novel by M. Tailer) under the title *Oru Daivikamāya Pṛatikāram*.

and Bengali emulation of English poems. He brought Malayalam poetry nearer to life.

Vallathol, the darling of the muses

Vallathol started writing poetry very early in his life. By the time he was twenty-six, he had sixteen books to his credit. No one could have stopped his becoming a poet. As a matter of fact his parents were training him to become an Ayurvedic physician, but he preferred composing verses on medical subjects to treating patients. When he was barely twenty-eight, Vallathol completed the Malayalam translation of the whole of *Valmikiramayanam* in the record time of one year and eight months. Such was the poetic energy in him. However, till his thirtieth year Vallathol, though well recognized as a poet, was very much set in the traditional path. At that stage, a metamorphosis took place in him both physically and mentally. The poet became stone deaf at thirty and remained so for the rest of his life. He could not hear the noises round about, but he heard melodies unheard by ordinary ears. The classicist was transformed into a romanticist of the Western type.

Vallathol was a poet to his finger-tips, but he had few opportunities to know about literatures other than Sanskrit. The Western impact came to him second-hand, but it easily triggered the emotional power in him. He had appreciated the elegies which appeared in the Malayalam language, and when he read Asan's *Vina Puvu*, he was convinced that the subjective approach in poetry was something worth emulating. That was enough for a person with such a highly strung creative faculty. For his first experiment he himself becomes the subject. In 1910 he published *Badhira Vilapam*, a *vilapam* or mourning 'on his deafness' reminding one of Milton's sonnet 'on his blindness'. In other elegies the poets mourned over others; but here Vallathol mourned over himself and produced a poem of haunting beauty. Here poetry flows freely from the very heart, not in rigid patterns nor with conventional descriptions of hills and oceans.

This does not mean that he changed over completely as a romanticist by 1910. He experimented with the new, without completely leaving the traditional ways. In 1914, we find that he has completed *Citrayōgam Mahākāvyam* as well as the well-known lyrical poem *Bandhanastha naya Aniruddhan* (Aniruddhan Bound). Though this lyric was based on a Puranic story, it was unrivalled in its

imaginative exposition of one aspect of life. By this time Vallathol had changed over to a really modern poet and thereafter poems blossomed forth like flowers in spring.

Vallathol has written hundreds of poems of varying length and on diverse subjects. Some of the shorter poems are collected in *Sahitya Manjari*, in ten Parts. Others are published independently. You find in them an intense romanticist, a great nationalist, and a grim realist. You find in him a willingness to absorb anything fresh and useful. Though ignorant of English, he knew of its rich literary heritage. So great was his desire to associate himself with English, that he rendered *The Merchant of Venice* into Malayalam with the help of a friend. The title of this free rendering is *Portia Vivaham*, which means 'The Marriage of Portia'. He has without difficulty discarded such norms and rules of classical poetry as compulsory descriptions, a profusion of *alankaras*, and the use of rigid metres. There is no need to go into detail. The influence of the West on him is unquestionable, though it was indirectly transmitted through friends and through poems which bore a direct influence.

Vallathol wrote, in 1921, a beautiful poem based on the biblical theme of Mary Magdalene.[4] Asan's *Karuna*, on a similar theme, was written a little later. *Magdalana Mariam*, as the title goes, is one of the most beautiful poems that Vallathol has written. We cannot say that the West influenced him in the choice of theme. The influence of the West is only in the romantic treatment of the subject.

Vallathol's descriptive power can be seen from the few lines reproduced below.

Mary is proceeding to Simon Peter's abode in order to have a glimpse of Jesus.

> Ye Stars that shine in heavens high !
> Why look'st thee down so steadfastly ?
> Has any one from 'midst your throng
> Fallen upon the earth below ?

[4] An English translation by Erik de Mauny has been published by Meridian Books.

Ay, 'tis a star-like shape that gleams
Upon the house in this city street
Or better, 'tis a sister-sheen
Unto this jasmine-white moonlight !

Who is this maiden passing fair ?
Why great in hurry doth she glide ?
Her rounded breasts so ripe in height
Do sway within her bodice white.

Her lovely tresses like the clouds
And thick as trailing ivy leaves
Un-knotted fall around her waist
Covering her broad pelvic zone ;
An' the moonbeams now these curls of dark
Caress into deliquious light. . . .

Here is a glimpse of her past life.

The side-long glances of her eyes
Chiselled by Cupid blazing black
Were each one of them more precious
Than a myriad sapphire stones.

Her smile was like the cream of milk.
A perfect pleasance for the world,
It was this smile that turn'd her hut
To tower like glorious Kailas.

And at the flicker of her brows
O how many did post to serve ;
And what more could the maiden wish,
Ev'n Kings stood as her servitors.

And she that was a beggar maid
Shone now umbrella'd like a Queen,
Beauty ! when thou a woman bless
What lieth there beyond thy reach ?

Mary prostrates before the feet of Jesus and sheds tears of repentance.

Was it an amorous look she bent
Long and lingering at the Lord ?
In her devotion surged supreme
And like to love flow'd thro' the eyes.

Yea. Simon was a 'noble' soul,
Yet gave no water for his feet,
With wond'ring, wond'ring eyes, he saw
A sinner's tears washing them free !

Thus washed by her pure steaming tears
Humbly she wiped the golden feet
With her dark hair as soft as silk,
And then she kissed them with her lips,
Coral-red and tender as blooms.
Maiden, thy face is purified !
Today, thy kiss is where it be !

Another parallel may be seen in two of the outstanding poems of Asan and Vallathol. We have already referred to Asan's portrayal of Sita, the deserted wife. Vallathol has shown an equally original perception in finding a highly dramatic scene from another old story where there is a deserted wife. In his *Achanum Makalum* (Father and Daughter), Vallathol brings together Viswamitra and his daughter Sakuntala. The father is cross with Dushyanta for not accepting Sakuntala, but he forgets his own past conduct in rejecting her as an infant and leaving her to the mercy of nature. The manner in which the whole sequence is worked out and the autobiographical touch by which the daughter cuts through to his heart must be read to be appreciated. She says:

Forsaken by her own parents,
the unfortunate one,
has been rejected by her husband too.[4]

Viswamitra is thus able to see himself as others do.

Vallathol grew with the times. He associated himself with the national liberation movement and became a leader in the cultural front, bringing to Malayalam poetry an agitational element without making it a mere propaganda medium. He accepted Gandhi as his *guru* and from his deep devotion sprang forth songs of great power and beauty. Vallathol's poem on the tri-colour congress flag was capable of injecting patriotic feelings into the hearts of thousands of Malayalees. In short, he gave vitality to patriotism by his impassioned and nationalistic poems.

[4] P. K. Parameswaran Nair, *History of Malayalam Literature*, p. 212.

Vallathol also felt and wrote for the underprivileged. Later in his career, he was enamoured of the socialist-realist approach to literature. After his visit to the Soviet Union, he wrote poems eulogising the progress made by the Soviet Union. But during the same period you find him also translating the great ancient classic *Rig Veda*. Vallathol had an unusually flexible mind. Though rooted firmly in his own tradition, he could draw inspiration from foreign sources and make use of it on his own terms. In general, we can say that Vallathol's poetry throbs with life, and radiates charm whatever be the subject or genre he chose.

Ulloor, the classicist

As pointed out earlier, Ulloor Parameswara Iyer was a product of modern education. In addition to Malayalam and Sanskrit, he could claim sound scholarship in English and Tamil. He was an officer of the Travancore government, well known for his sense of duty. Apart from his official preoccupations, he was not merely a poet, but a historian, a researcher, and an organiser of literary and linguistic conferences. The poet and the scholar in him vied with each other, and often it was the scholar who shone stronger. He was prone to an intellectual apprehension of facts rather than an emotional response to them. However, he was quite conscious of the way in which new poetry was taking shape.

Though Asan, Vallathol, and Ulloor started their poetic careers in the tradition moulded by Sanskrit, it was Asan who became the pioneer and leader of the new romantic movement. Vallathol was quick to catch up. By 1915 they both had widened the new stream of the lyric, but even in 1920 Ulloor was still dabbling in the highly structured traditional style. However, soon he realized the significance of the new movement and joined in it. He bade goodbye to his insistence on rhyme on the second syllable and to the profusion of *alaṅkārās*. He gradually accepted the Malayalam metres and wrote hundreds of lyrical poems of great value. He, too, wrote a poem, *Pingala*, with a theme similar to that of *Karuna* and *Magdalana Mariam*. Despite the fact that the poem is romantic, there are portions indicative of his classical taste. He was led more by principles, whereas his colleagues were led by perception.

Ulloor's wide reading of English literature, his infatuation for Sanskrit poetry, and his philosophical bent of mind are all reflected in his poetic compositions. It is difficult to say that he has been

particularly influenced by this poet or that poet, or that he has imitated this poem or that poem. He had a great capacity for the assimilation of facts and ideas, but his was not a mind that would easily take fire at the touch of something interesting or arresting. He took an interest in almost everything that his compatriots worked upon, be it love, social revolution, or patriotic agitation, but it was not his lot to be a path-breaker and pioneer. Though slightly at the rear, he was as forward-looking as the other two, and he was much more than a poet.

After the Great Trio

There has been a general feeling that Malayalam poetry lost some of its glory after the glorious period of the great trio. Several poets of the next generation wrote poems of real merit, and many of them were inspired by one or the other of the great masters. Some have been influenced by Western poetry as well. It is difficult to give a detailed account of all of them, but a few may be mentioned to give an idea of the general trend.

Kuttipurathu Kesavan Nair (1882-1959) and Pallathu Raman (1891-1950) are two distinguished poets who have been influenced by Western Poetry and their main contribution comes under the lyric. We have already referred to some translations of Pallathu Raman. Kuttipuram was at once a disciple and relative of poet Vallathol. His *Grāmina Kanyaka* (The village virgin) included in the collection *Kāvyopahāram* (1921) which is reminiscent of Western lyrics was probably written about 1915.

Nalappat Narayana Menon

Nalappat Narayana Menon (1887-1955) is one of the poets who have been considerably influenced by the West. He has not written much, but what he has produced is really among the best in Malayalam poetry. He has, in fact, excelled all others in writing an elegy. The untimely death of his wife moved him deeply, but the tears that he shed crystallized into high-class verses. The elegy is aptly entitled *Kannu Nir Tulli* (Tear Drops). While some stanzas soar to philosophic heights, others take you to depths of despondency and tenderness. Nalappat has translated *The Light of Asia* under the title *Paurastyadipam* (1918). As we have seen, he has also rendered *Les Miserables* with remarkable fidelity. He has drunk

deep from Western literature. Being a close associate of Vallathol, Nalappat could help him to understand the trend in poetic compositions in the West. *Cakravālom* (The Horizon) is another of his major poems.

Balamani Amma

Before we pass on to others, we may mention the name of Balamani Amma, niece of Nalapat Narayana Menon. She has written several lyrics, but *Amma* (Mother) and *Muttaśśi* (Grandmother) are best known. Of other recent poems, *Maḷuvinte Katha* (The story of the Axe) deserves special mention. It is a dramatic monologue in which she has portrayed Parasurama in a new perspective. The poem is based on the legendary story of the creation of Kerala, wherein Parasurama, by throwing a silver axe into the sea, caused land to rise up to the place where the axe fell. In it we get an X-ray view not only of Parasurama but of modern Kerala as seen by him with all its dissensions and difficulties. It is a beautiful poem cast in the Western mould of the dramatic monologue popularized by Browning.

K. M. Panikkar (1894-1963)

K. M. Panikkar was a versatile writer. He wrote in English and Malayalam on a variety of topics—history, politics, and literary criticism. This was in addition to his poems, novels, and plays. He had the benefit of a Western education at Oxford (1914-1918) and, even while a student there, had earned a name as a Malayalam poet. His contribution in *Kavana Kaumudi* in those days was such as to introduce the technique and spirit of English poetry. Soon Panikkar rose to national and international eminence. No other writer in Malayalam (and few others in India) had as much contact with various countries of the West as Panikkar had. And being interested in literature, he eagerly assimilated much from the West. His lyrics and dramas bear ample testimony to this. In the chapter on drama, we refer to his translation of the Greek tragedies and *King Lear*. He also rendered into facile verse Omar Khayyam's *Rubaiyat* (Fitzgerald's version).

G. Sankara Kurup, the symbolist

G. Sankara Kurup (1901-), who was considered foremost among the successors of the great trio, shot into further prominence

recently when he won the first Bharatiya Jnanpith award. He did not have the benefit of a formal English education ; however, by his own efforts he has acquired a fair knowledge of the language. He is familiar with Bengali and Hindi and has scholarship in Sanskrit. From all these sources Kurup assimilated a great deal and he has been growing through the years as a thinker and interpreter of life in its various aspects. You can see in him during his long career as a poet, a romanticist, a symbolist, a mystic, and also a realist. The impact on him of the English romantics, particularly Shelley, is unmistakable.

Admittedly he has been influenced by Vallathol and Asan, but most of all by Tagore. He acknowledges his indebtedness to Tagore in widening the horizons of his imagination. Poems like *Anvesanam* (Quest) and *Sāksātkāram* (Realization) show Tagorean influence.[6]

What distinguishes Kurup from other Malayalam poets is his substantial contribution to symbolism in poetry. He has written some outstanding poems using this technique. He has written odes, songs, sonnets, and dramatic monologues—all Western genres. But the subject is always something of local habitation which has touched him.

Perum Taccan (Master Carpenter),[7] for instance, is a poem carved from a legend current in Central Kerala. The old carpenter is unable even to stand up, but his mind is quite alert. Through a chain of memories, there flash before him the salient points of his past life. Within himself, the father and the artist are in conflict, for he realises that his son is the greater artist. An artist's jealousy is well known. The father loves the son, but the artist is jealous of the superior one. In one weak moment, jealousy gets the better of filial affection and the son becomes the victim. Years later the carpenter puts himself in the witness-box, and a psychoanalysis takes place through the medium of a beautiful dramatic monologue. There are only a few lines in the third person, and if this be forgotten, the poem is an exquisite model of the dramatic monologue.

Kurup's *Śaiśavam* (Childhood) reminds one of Wordsworth's *Ode on Intimations of Immortality*, and certain portions of *Viswa-*

[6] Vide *Odakuzhal*, translation by V. V. Menon.

[7] For an English translation vide *A Survey of Malayalam Literature*, Appendix A., pp. 241-247.

darśanam (Vision of the Universe) portray the expanding universe of Western scientists. Keats' *Ode to a Nightingale* was translated by him in 1941 under the title *Oru gītam* and included in his collection *Pūjāpuspam*. Kurup has also translated the *Rubaiyat* (Fitzgerald's version). His translation of Heine's *Night in the Cabin* has been well appreciated.

Changampuzha—Enchantment personified

Changampuzha Krishna Pillai (1914-1948), during the short span of his life, was the rage of readers of poetry in Malayalam, paricularly those of the younger generation. He and his poet friend Raghavan Pillai (1909-1936) hailed from the same village, Idappally. They both started their poetical career by weeping passionately through felicitous words. For a few years the literary connoisseurs' ears were directed towards Idappally. Both were poor, both were disappointed, and both died early. Raghavan Pillai committed suicide at twenty-seven, crossed in love. Changampuzha died at thirty-four of tuberculosis, after a hectic life. They resemble Shelley and Keats in more ways than one. They sang of love and desperation. Their dreams and frustrations flowed in lyrics of absorbing beauty and charm.

Raghavan Pillai wrote a poem, *Maninādam* (The Knell) just before committing suicide. This has a clear Western association, though the substance of the poem is autobiographical. The knell comes into the poem at various places.

The death of his friend moved Changampuzha to his depths. The pent-up feelings found creative expression in the form of a pastoral elegy, *Ramanan*. We are here reminded of *Adonais*, in which Shelley has mourned the death of his dear friend and fellow poet, Keats. He has faithfully adapted the form of pastoral elegy popularized by Milton's *Lycidas* and Spenser's *The Shepherd's Calendar*. Two friends, Madanan and Ramanan, appear as shepherds and they move about among the hills and pastures. The lilting quality of the poem and the actual incident behind it made it so popular that several editions were called for in a few years. Truly speaking, by this one poem, the poor poet became somewhat well-to-do. Changampuzha could continue his college education without difficulty. In the Trivandrum Maharajas College of Arts where he did his B.A. (Hons.), he got further opportunities to drink to his fill from the vast reservoir of Western literature. In fact

there is no other poet in Malayalam who has made such generous use of Western literature as has Changampuzha. We find a great infiltration of Western imagery in his poems. His *Sāhityacintakal* (Thoughts on Literature) contains plenty of material to prove his allegiance to Western thought.

In his *Mohini*, we find an unmistakable adaptation of Browning's *Porphyria's Lover*. Browning's hero is a sadist and Pygmalionist who squeezes his love in an embrace with such passion and such power that she smiles as if in a dreamland of heavenly bliss and quietly dies. Changampuzha's hero is more concerned with the beauty of his sweetheart. He has never seen her before in such exquisite beauty and he feels that the scene cannot be repeated. He, therefore, seeks to give permanence to that unique moment by stabbing her to death. Sounds quite strange ! But the poem has been worked up in such a manner that the reader is willing to concede.

A few initial stanzas of his well-known poem *Manaswini* are given below to give an idea of his descriptive power.

As morning burst out into flames of glory
  Like a bunch of yellow flowers,
Beloved, you came before me, beautiful and bright,
  Like a lone beam of Delight . . . .
On your beautiful brow
  Adorned with a *tilak* of sandal-wood paste,
Dark blue curls of hair played
  Like a row of lovely honey-bees.

Your face shown like a fresh lotus
  Arising from the depths of virtue ;
Your dark tresses of curly hair
  Tied at the end and adorned with a single rose
Resembled a huge black snake,
  With single hood and its thousand bodies intertwined,
Hanging head-downward down a sandal-wood creeper !

You were sweet like a song ! like a poem
  My beloved ! at your sight my heart leapt up
and along with it a poem,—
  A poem like a red, red flower
Dripping with my heart's blood !
  A mad desire awoke in me

To write and write and create beauty,—
Seizing rainbow for a pen.

And dipping it in moonlight !
My fancy soared and I lost myself in the oblivion of self-effacement
I wandered in a magic world
Where dreams flowered in profusion ;
Spell-bound I stood
In a magnetic field of ecstasy.[8]

Among his adaptations of English poems may be mentioned *Kṣetrasannidhiyil* which is drawn from Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*. *Unmādattinte Ōtakkulal* reflects distinctly the spirit of Browning's dramatic monologue, *My Last Duchess*.

Changampuzha has translated a few poems and several plays from European literatures, of course taking the English version as the base. Among them are :

(1) Mæterlinck, Maurice
Pelleas et Melisande (French title)—Pellisum Melisandayum (1947).
(2) Hauptmann, Gerhart
Hanneles Himmel fahrt (German title)—Hanela (1948) ;
(3) Undset, Sigrid
The Son Avenger (English title)—*Pratikāra durga* (1947) ; and
(4) Browning, Robert

The Last Ride Together—(About 1940)

Changampuzha, like Vallathol, wrote a poem on Mary Magdalene of the New Testament. It is incomplete, but what he has written is sufficient to show his capacity to make the theme throbbing and passionate.

Changampuzha had a turbulent heart. His diction was superb and his style musical and pleasing. He was acclaimed as the *gānagandharva* (celestial singer) because of his extraordinary lyrical gifts. He wrote several poems like, *Valakkula* (A Bunch of Bananas), *Tippori* (Sparks of Fire), *Koṭunkāṭṭu* (The Tempest) etc.

[8] Translation by G. S. Pillai. For a full rendering of the Poem vide—*A Survey of Malayalam Literature* (By K. M. George), pp. 255-258.

which show his revolutionary zest when he was in the midst of progressive writers. But more than anything else, he was a passionate romanticist, who was impregnated with the best in Western lyricism, and who produced abundant poetry which is essentially Kerala in spirit.

P. Sankaran Nambiyar

P. Sankaran Nambiyar (1892-1954) though not one of the major poets in Malayalam, has played a distinct role in introducing some of the best in English poetry to readers and poets in Malayalam He was a distinguished professor of English and a talented essayist and critic . By his essays and informal talks, he introduced the treasures of English poetry to a large circle of friends, including G. Sankara Kurup. The technique of several forms such as the sonnet, the ode, and the monologue was explained in detail by him in his *Prasthānatrayam*. He also gave good examples in Malayalam. More than that, he translated a good number of well-known English poems into elegant Malayalam verse.

Some of these translations, first published in periodicals, are collected in *Suvarnamandalam* (Realms of Gold—1951). Each poem has a succinct introduction to enable the readers to get an idea of the background. The translations in the collection are the following :

Tennyson, *Ulysses* ;
Milton, *Lycidas* :
Browning, *Andrea del Sarto* ;
Shelley, *Ode to the West Wind* ;
Wordsworth, *Ode to Duty* ; and
Shakespeare, *Seven Sonnets*.

There are also adaptations, inspired by the following poems :

Keats, *Ode to a Nightingale* ;
Blanco White, *Sonnet on Mysterious Night* ;
Goldsmith, *Apostrophe to Poetry*.

Nambiyar's translations had a definite influence on the course of Malayalam poetry in the fourth and fifth decades of this century.

Later Poets

We now pass on to the next generation of poets—who have earned a name after the thirties.

Vailoppilli Sreedhara Menon

A good majority of the contemporary poets have had a modern education and are familiar with English, though some of them have not earned their degrees. And most of them have been influenced by Western poetry in some form or other. Vailoppilli Sreedhara Menon is one of the outstanding poets of today. Though a teacher of science, his heart is in poetry. As a well-educated literary connoisseur, he had his eyes on English poetry for a long time. That has shaped his ideas to a considerable extent, but he writes on themes which are thoroughly indigenous.

His *Pullukal* (The Grass) reminds one of *A Grammarian's Funeral* by Browning. Similarly in his *Dhanyakanyaka*, is a translation of D. G. Rossetti's *the Blessed Damosell*. *Mampaḷam* (The Mango Fruit) is a highly moving lyric. There are quite a few such poems which indicate his psychological insight. *Kuṭṭākkāran* (The Guilty) and *Kuṭiyoḻikkal* (The Eviction) are composed more or less in the form of the dramatic monologue. He translated Shelley's *To A Skylark* under the title *Vānampāṭiyōṭu* (included in the anthology *Srīrekha*) and his *Narttaki* in *Kaṅṅikoyttu* owes its inspiration to a story by John Galsworthy. His *Ōtakkuḻal* (1949) is a translation of *A Musical Instrument* by E. B. Browning.

N. V. Krishna Warier

After Changampuzha the poetry of experience was degenerating into poetry of sentimentalism. (Changampuzha's sentimentalism could be excused, because it had other saving graces.) Such degeneration happens when imitators flood any field. Krishna Warier felt this stagnation and wanted to arrest the trend by trying new experiments. Few writers in the language have such wide interests and such powers of assimilation as Krishna Warier has. He knows many languages, Indian and foreign, and is blessed with an exceptionally perceptive mind. This has resulted in some gains for Malayalam literature, particularly poetry.

He was probably the first poet in Malayalam to introduce certain techniques of T. S. Eliot, for instance, the introduction of images which apparently do not blend. His *Madirasiyile Sayānham* (An Evening in Madras) came as a slight shock with its incongruous mixing of images as well as vocabulary. Shelley's 'Philosophy of love' has found a place in this poem. *Koccutomman*', in which he portrays a student's life in Madras, was another outstanding experiment. He has the courage to break the canons of rhetoric and grammar for the sake of intensifying the proper atmosphere of the poem.

Warier has written two poems in the dramatic monologue fashion, *Alexis punyavālan* and *Malintasin*. You are able to feel the turbulent waves in the heart of Alexis, whose story comes out in the monologue. The poet takes you to a distant land and an unaccustomed scene, but you are easily pushed into the fray. Alexis marries a beautiful lady belonging to a lord's family. But the same night he decides to do something very extraordinary. He flees to a monastery in Egypt. But sadly enough, he finds there not peace, but perversion, jealousy, and discontent. He leaves the monastery and wanders about in Palestine and other places ; finally he becomes a beggar, old, despicable, and sore-limbed. He then comes to his senses and remembers the woman whom he had wed years ago. He rushes back to her to make amends for his mistake—he peeps into her room and catches her unaware, praying on her knees with two pictures before her, one of Jesus and the other of the youthful Alexis. Why should her beautiful dream be shattered, he thinks. She comes out and sees the beggar and gives him shelter near the watchman's abode, where he would be given the left-over food. He feels like breaking his head open. He would like to destroy the picture of Jesus and run up to her and embrace her. But she worships him! Let that devotion and love continue, he thinks. He had gone in search of a mirage and now he lives in it too. Finally he settles down to reality and prefers this unknown, uncared-for life to sainthood in the life hereafter. All these intense emotions flow through the monologue with remarkable restraint. Here the form is Western, the story is foreign, but the aspect of human nature that is uncovered is universal, though the language of expression belongs to a corner of the earth.

More Glimpses of Western Influence

English poets of an earlier generation—Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Ben Jonson, Keats, Shelley, Byron, Gray, Tennyson, Browning, Matthew Arnold and Francis Thompson—have already come into Malayalam in some way or other. Heine (German), Pushkin (Russian), Baudelaire (French), and W. B. Yeats (Irish) have also made entry. Coming to more recent times, Walt Whitman, T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, Stephen Spender, Robert Frost and W. H. Auden are enjoyed by the more progressive poets of the day. Direct and indirect expressions of their association with these Western poets are seen scattered in contemporary writing. It is difficult to prepare statistics in such matters. We can perhaps give some more glimpses which will throw a little more light on the nature and extent of the Western impact on modern Malayalam poetry.

Kainikkara Kumara Pillai is better known as a dramatist and essayist. He has imbibed the delicacies of Western literature considerably. 'There are of course many writers,' he writes, 'who have particularly impressed me or endeared themselves to me by their art, or ideas or personality. They are too numerous to be mentioned.' We shall have occasion to refer to his contributions to Malayalam drama in another chapter, but here we might refer to 'prose poems' which he introduced in Malayalam over three decades ago. When his *Ātmālāpam* appeared in print the readers were fascinated by the special style and form. He has been influenced by Walt Whitman and Rabindranath Tagore in evolving a style of poetic prose.

Vennikulam Gopala Kurup, who has no claim to scholarship in English, has tried his hands at translating a few English poems into Malayalam. *Piriyan Sankhu* (1951) in *Manasaputri* is the translation of O. W. Holmes' *The Chambered Nautilus*. *Kanataya Kāmukan* (1945) (The Missing Lover) included in the collection *Vasantotsavam* is an adaptation of Shakespeare's famous sonnet beginning 'Full Many a Glorious Morning...' *Cinattottiyil* is a translation of a poem on a cat by Gray. Kurup is well known for the finesse of his diction.

K. K. Raja, another fine poet of the same tradition as Vennikkulam, has given to Malayalam a good number of beautiful son-

nets. He has adopted into Malayalam verse Blanco White's famous sonnet '*The Night*' (vide his collection *Tulasidāmam*).

It is not simply the ultra-modern poets of the West that attract the modern Malayalam poet. There seems to be an increasing interest in Western classical poetry these days. This is evident from the recent translation of well-known Greek classics. Akkittam, in a personal communication, informs us that he has been considerably moved by *Prometheus Bound*, *Prometheus Unbound*, *The Light of Asia*, *Othello*, and *the Merchant of Venice*. He has also enjoyed Walt Whitman (*Leaves of* Grass) and Longfellow. His *Irupatam Nuttantinte Itihasam* (Epic of the Twentieth Century) is an outstanding reflective poem in the epic style. It is an outburst of agony, the agony of an honest seeker of truth of this century expressed through very many new imageries. Its universality cannot be construed as a Western stamp, though the West is an important ingredient.

Madasseri Madhava Varier, who has rendered into Malayalam a large number of short stories (particularly of Maupassant) is a poet of classical taste. Dante, Shakespeare, Plato, and Pater are among his favourite authors. His recent long poem *Madhavanite Mahakavyam* is a bold venture in the field of poesy. He admits that in its composition he has been influenced by Dante, Milton, and T. S. Eliot.

M. P. Appan has drawn considerably from Western poets, particularly from Shelley, Keats, Wordsworth and Pushkin. He has to his credit several sonnets on a variety of topics and the collection of sonnets—*Vellinaksatram* (The Silver Star—1938) is understood to be the first compilation of sonnets to appear in book form in the language. In a personal note he admits that it is Shelley and Keats that drew him to the art of composing lyrics rather than the famous poets of Malayalam, for he has not been able to find the perfection of the lyric form in the latter. Among the poems that he has translated into Malayalam the following may be mentioned:

(1) *Pippa Passes* by Robert Browning under the title *Ussil* (*Tarangalila*)

(2) *To a Skylark* by Shelley under the title *Vanampati* (*Tarangalila*)

(3) *Daffodils* by Wordsworth under the title *Pukkal* (*Tarangalila*)

(4) *The Prophet* by Pushkin under the title *Dirghadarśi*.

In O. N. V. Kurup the influence of the famous Spanish poet Garcia Lorca can be traced to a considerable extent. In his book *Mayilppili*, instead of a preface he prefers to quote these lines from Lorca :

' My heart of silk
is filled with lights,
with lost bells,
with lilies and bees.

I will go very far,
farther than those hills,
farther than the seas,
to beg Christ the Lord
to give back the soul I had
of old, when I was a child,
ripened with legends,
with a feathered cap
and a wooden sword '.

He has also translated the poems *Cantos Nueves* (New Songs), *La Guttarra* (the Guitar) *Sueno* (the dream), *La Luna Asoma* (the moon appears), and *Cancion Del Naranjo Seco* (Song of the withered Orange Tree). These have been published in the periodical ' Kerala Kavitha '. Wordsworth's *Laodamia* has influenced Kurup to write a dramatic monologue under the same title.

In recent years O. M. Anujan has been turning his eyes towards the West. not only towards contemporary poetry but towards ancient classical poetry as well. He has been influenced not only by T S Eliot, D. H. Lawrence, and Shelley, but by Homer. Aeschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles. His collection of poems entitled *Actaeon* is based essentially on Greek mythological themes. He has tried to blend the Western myths with Hindu Puranic concepts. Anujan admits that the subjective style and the scientific spirit in his poems have been the result of Western influence. Among the English poems that he has translated into Malayalam, Shelley's *Adonais* is the most important. He has also introduced the German poet Heine into Malayalam.

Vellayani Arjunan is another young poet who has assimilated many Western ideas. Some of the poems in *Kārttikavilakku* (an anthology of twenty-one poems) show how much he has been influenced by Shelley's philosophy of life and Wordsworth's nature worship.

Translations or Adaptations of Western Poems

There are several poems in Malayalam, not mentioned so far, which are either translations or adaptations of Western poems. We give below a selective list of such.

1. *Kulaluti Kakkan*, by Sasthamangalam Ramakrishna Pillai, is a free translation of Browning's *The Pied Piper of Hamelin*.
2. *Oru Kappal Yātra*, by Koyippallil Parameswara Kurup, is a translation of Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*.
3. *Premam*, by Koyippallil Parameswara Kurup, is a translation of *Love* by Ella Wheeler Wilcox.
4. *Krişikkaran*, by Pallattu Raman, is a translation of *The Farmer* by Wordsworth.
5. *Vāṅampati*, by Pallattu Raman, is a translation of *Ode to a Nightingale* by Keats.
6. *Vasamtarambhattil*, by T. P. Mathew (*Himavante putri*), is a translation of *Written in Early Spring* by Wordsworth.
7. *Karikkol Etutta Maṅusyan* (1958) by P. Bhaskaran is an adaptation of *The Man with the Hoe* by Edwin Markham.
8. *Onniṅum Kollāttavan*, by P. Bhaskaran, has been inspired by Ruskin Bond.
9. *Kalpana*, by Olappamanna, is an adaptation of *Ode to the West Wind* by Shelley.
10. *Kuruksetram*, by K. Ayyappa Panikkar, has been written under the inspiration of Eliot's *The Waste Land*.
11. *Iliad* (1959)—Translation by K. A. Paul from the English version.
12. *Odyssey* (1960)—Translation by C. Madhavan Pillai from the English version.

Poetic activity seems to be gaining fresh momentum in the sixties. Sugatha Kumari, G. Kumara Pillai, K. Ayyappa Panikkar, Cheriyan K. Cheriyan, N. N. Kakkad, Vishnu Narayanan Nambudiri, Akkitham etc. are a few who are contributing to this fresh vigour. And most of them are inspired by Western masterpieces, in some degree or form. The popularity of the recent publication *Kerala Kavita* (1967), a quarterly journal devoted solely to poetry, is proof enough of this stimulus. *An Anthology of*

English Poems in Translation under the editorship of K. Ayyappa Panikkar is under preparation. This is indicative of the enduring interest in Western poetry evinced by the younger poets.

Summing Up

Even from the above survey, incomplete as it is, we have seen that Malayalam poetry has been considerably influenced by the West during this century. Unlike certain other branches of literature such as fiction and drama, this influence has been predominantly English. French, German, and Russian influence (also through the English language by way of translation) has been much less though it does exist. Another point worth noting is that the influence has been manifested largely in the acceptance of forms and techniques, much less in adapting themes, and lesser still in translating poetic pieces. The reason is not far to seek. Poetry is the literary form which is closest to the genius of the language. It conveys not only a meaning, but more important, a feeling; so much so that when the medium of language is changed, untold difficulties arise. The substance of real poetry has to be indigenous. This does not rule out the possibility of successful translations. There has been a considerable amount of satisfactory translation of Western poetry in Malayalam, of which some of the titles have been pointed out.

Coming to movements in poetry, in Malayalam we have had almost every literary movement in the West. Speaking about the present century, we have had neo-classicism, romanticism, realism of various types including surrealism, as well as symbolism and mysticism. Our indebtedness to the West in this regard is beyond question.

We have not been shy of imitating and adapting the various literary forms which the West has tried. We have the ode (Gītam), the song (the Gīti), the sonnet (the Gītakam), the elegy (Vilāpa kāvyam), and the monologue (Svagatākhyānam). We have also appreciated the verse play, though we had our own traditional form which was somewhat different. We have given a serious trial to the prose poem (*Gadya Kavita*), which did not, however, take root. We are making new experiments in metrical patterns, under the general influence of free verse in English.

The Western influence has gone deeper in certain other res-

pects too. Western imagery has seeped into our poetry. It is mostly Biblical in concept. Though the Bible does not belong to the West and though a complete Malayalam version was available as early as 1840, Biblical imagery has undoubtedly come to us through English poetry. Abel and Cain, Adam and Eve, Christ, the cross, the Virgin Mary, the Christmas star, the cattle shed and manger, Venus or the Evening Star, the Morning Star, the nightingale, the hammer and sickle—all these (most of them Biblical) infiltrated poetry from the West. Then imagery based on modern industry, science, and technology is steadily coming into the structure of modern Malayalam verse.

In the evolution of Malayalam poetry during this century, particularly in the last four or five decades, we see the impact of the West. Malayalam poetry was originally in the grip of rhetoric and feats of craftsmanship. From a poetry of meaning it became one of experience ; from wonderful speculations it changed over to considerations of realities of life ; its *alaṅkaras* became a means and not an end ; it ceased to be the hobby of the leisured class and became the mouthpiece of the ordinary man ; from an ornate diction it turned to the simple and mellifluous ; it changed over from a mere expression of sentiment to an effective perception of the complex human psychology. It has gained in elegance, dignity, and refinement, and much of its progress is due to its continuous and inspiring contact with the best of Western poetry.

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CHAPTER XI

DRAMA

According to the Sanskrit tradition, drama is *dṛśya kavya* or literature which has a visual orientation, whether performed on the stage or not. Actually literature for the Oriental was essentially poetry and drama. There was drama in poetry and poetry in drama. Thus, for classical literature, whatever its form, poetry was indispensable. Malayalam literature grew under the influence of the Sanskrit tradition, and most of its earlier literature is poetry. But it is significant that it had no drama proper till it came to the modern period, i.e., about 1880. Actually, the Malayalam translation of Kalidasa's *Sakuntalam* in 1882, by Kerala Varma, performed the ceremony of 'breaking ground' for this literary form. It may appear strange that in a land which produced the internationally renowned *Kathakali* (with its own literature), there was no dramatic literature before 1882. Yet, *Kathakali* and the other well-known art forms, *Kutiyattam* and *Tullal*, were quite possibly responsible for the late flowering of the drama proper in Kerala. *Kutiyāttam* lost its glamour when Kathakali came to the scene. Both *Kathakali* and *Tullal* are stage performances, *Kathakali* being more classical and stylised, *Tullal* more popular and simple, and both had excellent literature to dwell upon. Thus the visual and literary aspects of drama were available to the Malayalee in these art forms.[1] *Kathakali* has a history of over three hundred years and *Tullal* of about two hundred.

Kerala is well known for its temple and folk arts. *Kathakali* and *Tullal* have drawn considerably from these. All these are indigenous. But the stage of Kerala had something more than this before we come to the modern period. We have already referred to *Cavittunātakam*, which was introduced by the Christians late in the seventeenth century and became popular in the eighteenth century. It definitely showed the influence of the West, as the Portuguese were largely responsible for the innovation. As already stated, *Cavittunātakam* is a combination of many things Eastern and Western, Kerala and non-Kerala. Qualities that we expect from a standard drama, such as characterization and realistic

[1] K. M. George, *A Survey of Malayalam Literature*, pp. 190, 191.

dialogue, are seen in this to a certain extent. The stage setting, curtain, masks, and other technical equipment relating to a drama were introduced for the first time in Kerala. (The costuming and make-up for *Kathakali* are done according to certain rigid patterns.) The high-caste Hindus did not look upon this Westernized art form with favour. However, it maintained its popularity and appeal for quite some time among the middle class and low-brows.

A rejuvenation in the field of visual literature is noticeable in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. It started with the translation of *Sakuntalam* in 1882 as mentioned above. This was staged in various parts of Kerala by the 'Manomohanam' troupe. The success of the play was responsible for a good crop of translations of Sanskrit plays. In about two decades a good number of the well-known Sanskrit plays were translated into Malayalam. Quite a few original plays in the Sanskrit model also came to be written during the period. However, a really new stage in the history of Malayalam drama commences only in 1909 with C. V. Raman Pillai's hilarious farce, *Kuruppilläkkalari*. Till then we are able to see three traditions extending their influence on the Kerala theatre almost simultaneously : the Sanskrit, the Tamil, and the English, emphasizing verse, song, and prose respectively. In each category we have translations and original attempts in the established pattern.

We have briefly touched upon the Sanskrit model. Some of the well-known original plays in this pattern are *Umavivāham* (1893) by Kodungalloor Kochunni Thampuran, *Subhadrārjunam* (1891) by Thottakattu Ikkavamma, *Subhadrāharanam* (1891) by S. Perunalli Krishnan Vaidyan, *Gangāvataranam*, (1892) by Kunjikuttan Thampuran, and *Ebraya Kutti* (1893) by Varghese Mappila. Two plays, *Lakṣmikalyānam* (1893) by K. C. Kesava Pillai and *Mariamma* (about 1895) by P. K. Kocheepan Tharakan, though written in the same pattern, deal with contemporary social life of the Nairs and Christians respectively. A slight influence of the West is traceable in these plays.

The musical drama of Tamil country infiltrated into Kerala later in the same period. The Chief actors were always first-class musicians. No one bothered about the quality of acting or dialogue. People enjoyed the songs and the colourful costumes and stage settings. Soon their technique was adapted into Malayalam, and a few musical plays came to be written.

Shakespeare in Malayalam

We are here more concerned with the impact of the Western tradition. This tradition has been assimilated in verse drama as well as in prose drama. There have been quite a few translations and adaptations of well-known Western plays. Among the authors who have become popular in Malayalam the name of Shakespeare stands out. We have already referred to a few of the early adaptations and translations of Shakespeare's plays.* It has been pointed out that Shakespeare came into Malayalam literature in 1866 when Oommen Philipose adapted *A Comedy of Errors* under the title *Ālmarāttam*. Among the early attempts to introduce Shakespeare, Chidambara Vadhyar's rendering of Lamb's version of *As You Like It* and Kandathil Varghese Mappilai's translation of *The Taming of the Shrew* were specially noted. Similar attempts to introduce Shakespeare to Malayalam readers were made by K. Paramu Pillai and K. Pappu Pillai. Such efforts continued down the decades, but they alone are not an adequate reflection of the great influence that Shakespeare has had on the modern writers in the language.

Shakespeare has been so much a part of modern education in India that no student is able to escape his influence. Shakespeare's songs and stories are introduced on the school stage itself, and select scenes from his plays are put on by students and teachers. In the university Shakespeare is a must ; before a student gets his first degree, he studies two or three plays of Shakespeare in detail. On account of this, a large percentage of modern writers in the language have been influenced by Shakespeare in some way or other. Many writers—among them Kainikkara Padmanabha Pillai, Kainikkara Kumara Pillai, Madasseri Madhava Varier, Akkittam, Vaikkom Mohamed Basheer, E. M. Kovoor, Mekkolla Parameswaran Pillai, Muttathu Varki, Omcheri, and Ayyappa Panikkar—representing different tastes and age groups have indicated the influence that Shakespeare had on them while discussing the subject with the present writer. Not all of them are playwrights. In fact, nobody would deny the great influence of Shakespeare on the modern Malayalam writers. But the output

* Vide Chapter VII.

in introducing Shakespeare's great works in the language is, comparatively speaking, meagre. Why this is so is an interesting question to investigate. The reason may be found partly in the great difficulty of faithfully rendering Shakespeare's poetry and thought in a language so entirely different in structure and genius, and partly in the fact that a large majority of those who can enjoy Shakespeare can do so directly in the original English.

The following plays have been translated or adapted into Malayalam :

Antony and Cleopatra (one translation)
Hamlet (three translations and one adaptation)
Julius Caesar (one translation)
King Lear (two translations)
Macbeth (two translations)
The Merchant of Venice (three translations)
A Midsummer Night's Dream (two translations and two adaptations)
Othello (four translations and two adaptations)
Richard II (one translation)
The Taming of the Shrew (one translation)
Twelfth Night (two translations)

(For more details about these, refer to the list at Appendix D.[3].)

It is not only the English-educated that were influenced by Shakespeare. Vallathol, who knew no English, made a free rendering of *The Merchant of Venice* with the help of an English-knowing friend[4]. In the same manner (though earlier in point of time), Kodungalloor Kunjikuttan Thampuran, a poet who could make speeches in verse with great felicity and ease, translated *Hamlet* in 1897. He also depended on a friend for the understanding of the original play which stimulated him. The diction is excellent, but the translation lacks fidelity. Even in more faithful early translations like Kandathil Varghese Mappilai's translation of *The Taming of the Shrew* (*Kalahiñīdamañakam*, 1893), it was considered proper to change the names of characters and places to suit the new readership.

[3] See article in Malayalam by S. Guptan Nair—*Mathrubhumi* weekly, d Aug 16, 1964.
[4] See Chapter X.

What about the translation of the blank verse in Shakespeare's plays? Verse in Malayalam is written either in the indigenous metres like *Keka* and *Mañjari* or in metres borrowed from Sanskrit. Blank verse was something entirely new. The translators approached Shakespeare's blank verse with different viewpoints. Varghese Mappila rendered it in prose. A Govinda Pillai (*King Lear* and *The Merchant of Venice*) and K. M. Panikkar (*King Lear*) rendered it in verse, the former in *Upajāti*, a simple musical Sanskrit metre, and the latter in *Keka*, one of the most supple of Malayalam metres. The verse form has its own advantages and disadvantages—unfortunately, the disadvantages are more evident in the above cases. K Ramakrishna Pillai, in his translation of *Macbeth*, tried to copy the blank verse almost line for line. His attempt has been considered a worthwhile experiment, though the limitation has resulted in artificial construction in some places. All these examples show how difficult it is to do justice to the power and grandeur of Shakespeare's poetry in a new medium. But still it inspires.

Duranta Duṭṭanka (*Othello*) by Kainikkara Kumara Pillai is another experiment in introducing a play. It contains narrative and dialogue, i.e., interpretation and drama. The important scenes are faithfully translated and these are joined together by elucidations and critical observations. Quite a few plays of Shakespeare, including those listed above, have appeared in Malayalam in other forms. Even during the last decade of the nineteenth century the stories of some of the plays were introduced into Malayalam by K. Chidambara Vadhyar (1860-1940). While yet a student in the Trivandrum Maharaja's College, he translated *As You Like It* from Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*. Later he translated *The Winter's Tale* and *Cymbeline* from the same source. According to Ulloor, he seems to have translated *Richard III*, *Macbeth*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Twelfth Night*.[1] We are not sure whether all these were published. In any case they are not available now.

Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* proved a good source for many other writers. Thus the stories of *King John*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Tempest*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Cymbeline*, and *As You Like It*, along with some of those already mentioned, came into

[1] Ulloor, *Kerala Sahitya Charitram*, Vol. V, p. 381.

Malayalam. Two books dealing with the life and works of Shakespeare were published in 1963. They are by P. Anantan Pillai and K. P. Sasidharan.

The influence of Shakespeare on contemporary playwrights cannot be measured solely by the translation of his works or by works written about him. Shakespeare's art of creating characters of massive proportions has influenced some of our dramatists. It is, without a doubt, difficult to emulate him in this. However, a few playwrights like E. V. Krishna Pillai and Kainikkara Padmanabha Pillai have been able to create characters of great heroism and emotional appeal in their historical plays.* A discerning critic can feel the spirit of Shakespeare animating some characters and certain dialogues in their plays, though it is difficult to establish the point.

Farcical Plays

C. V. Raman Pillai

While discussing the novel, we observed C. V. Raman Pillai directing the torch of Western enlightenment to the dark recesses of history. Though his name will always be remembered as one of the path-makers of historical romance in Malayalam, he also has a place as a pioneer in writing prose dramas, particularly farces. He is the author of eight farcical plays commencing with *Kuruppillakkalari* written in 1909. But his interest in drama had taken a tangible form much earlier. As early as 1884 he had written a comical play, which combined verses of the Sanskrit type with both stilted prose and colloquial prose reflecting the English tradition. This dramatic "cocktail" was staged by the teachers and students of the Trivandrum Maharaja's College in those days.

But what C. V. wrote in 1909 showed considerably more maturity and was not such a curious mixture. The urge to write *Kuruppillakkalari* came from a particular incident, according to a current story. In Sree Mulam Assembly, Dewan Rajagopalachari had brought about a reform in allowing women to sit in the balcony as spectators. Several society ladies would come to watch the fun. One day C. V. noticed his own eldest daughter among them. He

* Vide 'Shakespeare in Malayalam' by Kainikkara Kumara Pillai in Indian Literature, Vol. VII, No. 1 (1964).

immediately left the hall. His reaction and annoyance found expression in literary creation, and the result was the entertaining farce *Kuruppillākkalari* (The School without a Teacher). The heroine, who becomes swollen-headed on account of her English education, is the target of strong satire. This was followed by seven other farces, all interesting and stage-worthy. In the hands of C. V., dialogue becomes alive.

For literary creation, the external pressure is sometimes as important as the internal urge. Apart from the Maharaja's College, the National Club of Trivandrum also wanted plays to stage. Those responsible for extra-curricular activities in these institutions urged and encouraged C. V. to write new plays for them. In 1915 the Sri Chitra Thirunal Library was founded. A special feature of this library was the annual staging of a new play. During some years C. V.'s historical novels were dramatized and performed. They proved a great success. Trivandrum thus evolved as a lively centre for the stage.

E. V. Krishna Pillai

The modern play along Western lines got its start directly and indirectly through C. V. Raman Pillai. But it was only a start. By 1920 a new phase was entered when the ebullient E. V. Krishna Pillai took the torch from his father-in-law C. V. Raman Pillai. E. V., an advocate by profession, soon blossomed into a short-story writer, playwright, and essayist. Above all he was a superb humorist. He enjoyed reading Sheridan and Molière, and the plays that he wrote reflect this acquired taste quite clearly. During the period from 1920 to 1935, E. V. Krishna Pillai was the leader among the dramatists of Kerala. He injected more realism and humour into the farcical play of his predecessors and made of it a full-length comedy. In fact he is to be taken as the founder of the modern Malayalam comedy. His *Kallapramānam*, *Pranayakkammiṣṭan*, *B. A. Mayāvi*, *Pennaraśu Nadu*, and others are hilarious comedies which have been staged several times in various places in Kerala. E. V. Krishna Pillai is also the author of three historical plays. Among these *Sītālakṣmi* and *Rājakesavadās* are particularly well known as serious plays. The realistic prose drama of the West influenced him considerably. In his hands the dialogue becomes more lively, shorn of its heaviness and circumlocution.

Followers of the E. V. tradition

Even after the demise of E. V. Krishna Pillai, the tradition of the Trivandrum theatre continued. N. P. Chellappan Nair, who first earned a name as a good actor in E. V.'s plays, evolved into a writer of comedies. His *Minnalpranayam*, *Atom Bomb*, *Lieutenant Nani*, and *Pranayajambavan* are well known for their side-splitting humour. He also was considerably influenced by farcical plays in English. This tradition has been continued by M. G. Kesava Pillai and T. N. Gopinathan Nair. Kesava Pillai's *Sambandhālochana* is an adaptation of *The Proposal* by Chekhov. Gopinathan Nair's *Vidhiye Vidhi* and *Pintirippan Prasthānam* are comedies conceived in the Western style. O'Neill's *Mourning Becomes Electra* has been adapted by him in his *Amma Vidu*. In the same way, *Janadrohi* owes its origin to *An Enemy of the People* by Ibsen.

Serious Plays

It is good to laugh, but it is good to weep too. Both laughter and tears can become meaningful if they lead to fresh thinking. The theatre-goers and the readers enjoyed the comedies of E. V. Krishna Pillai and his successors. But they were also keen on getting something serious.

In 1930, V. T. Bhattathiripad wrote a moving play, *Adukkalayil Ninnu Arangattekku* (From the Kitchen to the Drawing-room), in which he exposed the pitiable condition of the women in the Nambudiri community. This produced a great commotion in the community, especially in Malabar, where there is a concentration of Nambudiri families.

Kainikkara Padmanabha Pillai wrote *Veluttampi Dalawa* (1932), drawing material from Travancore history, and *Kalvariyile Kalpapādapam* (1935), based on the life of Jesus Christ. Both these plays won wide acclaim as excellent products of a fertile imagination showing great powers of expression. The Kainikkara brothers staged *Kalpapādapam* in various parts of Kerala. Judas' soliloquy, though melodramatic, had been staged as a separate piece in many a place. The play bears some resemblance to Marie Corelli's novel *Barabbas*, particularly in the creation of the charming character Judith. In a personal communication he says, 'I can name one book that has not exactly influenced, but rather inspired

me to write one of my books. It is Marie Corelli's *Barabbas* that inspired me to dramatize the last day of Christ in my *Kōlvariyile Kalpapadapam*.' As did many others of his generation, Padmanabha Pillai arrived at his standards in playwriting through his familiarity with Western drama, drawing inspiration from well-known European plays. He is a connoisseur of English dramas. 'My early dramas,' he writes, 'have conformed to the Shakespearean drama in form, technique and craftsmanship. In the later ones, there will certainly be the influence of the very many dramatists I have read.' He mentions particularly the Greek dramatists, and Ibsen, Galsworthy, and Eugene O'Neill, in addition to Shakespeare. He also cautions that any attempt to separate the various sources of influence is bound to be futile. How true that is!

Kainikkara Kumara Pillai is another compelling dramatist who has been considerably influenced by the West. He has not only translated *Othello* and *Antony and Cleopatra*, but has also adapted an interesting play, *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* by Philip Massinger, under the title *Manimangalam*. His translation of Maurice Maeterlinck's *Monna Vanna* is yet to be published. His original plays also indicate that he is well acquainted with the Western technique of conceiving characters, constructing the plot, and structuring the scenes.

Before we refer to other outstanding plays of the serious type, it seems desirable to make some mention of the introduction of some of the problem plays of the West by direct translation. Ibsen was introduced to the Malayalam readers by A. Balakrishna Pillai through the translation of *Ghosts* (1935). A little later *Rosmersholm* was adapted by C. Narayana Pillai under the title *Mullakkal bhavaṅam*. These two plays gave an opportunity for those unfamiliar with Western plays to understand the significance of constructing a play around a problem. Therefore, they are important incidents in the history of the Malayalam drama.

The role of well-written serious plays in revolutionizing the attitude and thought of the common people was well recognized in the West. Such plays inspired our playwrights a good deal. We can mention several examples of plays in Malayalam which had such a role. *Pattabākki* (Arrears of Rent), written in 1940 by K. Damodaran, is the story of a poor tenant in Malabar who was evicted from the land which belonged to him, by an unkind landlord. The background of the drama is the class struggle in Kerala,

which is the root of political struggle as well. *Ritumati* (The Pubescent) by M. P. Bhattathirippad helped in revolutionizing the place of women in the Nambudiri community, as did V. T. Bhattathirippad's play. *Taravadittam* by Cherukad is an impressive social drama depicting certain evils of the undivided family system of the Nairs. These are realistic plays, not meant for mere amusement. Kesava Dev, Ponkunnam Varki, Edasseri Govindan Nair, and K. T. Muhammad have also written plays exposing the weakness of the existing social order. They have not tried to imitate a particular Western drama, but the general technique is Western in conception. Truly speaking the Western impact liberated energies which were latent in them.

Classical Drama

Side by side with the modern social and psychological plays, we also see the classical type of drama coming into Malayalam. A few of the well-known Greek dramas have been rendered into Malayalam only recently. Among those who translated the Greek plays, the name of K. M. Panikkar stands out. He translated three plays of Sophocles, *Antigone*, *Oedipus Rex*, and *Electra*. These, as well as his translation of *King Lear*, were rendered in verse. He had a classical mind and believed in the suitability of verse for such plays, because verse has a greater capacity to reach emotional heights than prose. He has written three original plays on Puranic themes in the style of Sanskrit drama. They are *Bhiṣmar*, *Mandodari*, and *Dhruvaswamini*. Translations of Greek classics made from the English version by writers other than Panikkar are listed in Appendix D. C. J. Thomas and S. K. Nayar have particularly enriched this branch of drama with their translation.

The Impact of Ibsen

Among the well-known European playwrights, the one who has had the greatest impact on modern Malayalam drama is the Norwegian dramatist Henrik Ibsen. We have already referred to the translation of *Ghosts* and the adaptation of *Rosmersholm*. English-educated lovers of drama in Kerala were familiar with Ibsen before these translations appeared. It is, however, in the thirties and

forties of this century that 'Ibsenism' found its way into Malayalam drama. As is well known, Ibsen's main contribution was to build his play around a serious problem, either social or psychological. The best practitioner of this idea in Malayalam is N. Krishna Pillai, who is sometimes called the Ibsen of Kerala. He has half a dozen carefully written plays to his credit. In his book, *Kairaliyute Katha*, Krishna Pillai sets forth his ideal in writing plays. Rendered into English, this passage reads, 'The ideal play is one in which some serious fundamental human problem is realistically analysed and handled with utmost concentration, avoiding wastage in words, dialogues, situations, and characters.' For a person whose ideal was this, there could be no better model than Ibsen. In fact Krishna Pillai has fully caught the spirit of Ibsen. This is seen not only from his open confession but equally well from his plays.

In *Bhagnabhavanam* (Broken Home) Krishna Pillai tears to pieces the conventions of marriage. *Kanyaka* (Virgin) is the story of a woman who, though gainfully employed and independent longs for a partner in life. But to her parents she has been a milch cow, and so they have not bothered to find her a husband. After a protracted mental struggle, this now middle aged official resigns her job and runs away with the office peon. We are reminded of Nora of *A Doll's House* when we read *Kanyaka*. In *Balabalam* (Trial of Strength), *Anuranjanam* (The Compromise), *Mutakkumutal* (The Invested Capital), and *Alimukhattekku* (Towards the River Mouth) we find similar problems, domestic or social, poignantly presented.

The 'Ibsen movement' in Malayalam, initiated by A. Balakrishna Pillai and exemplified by N. Krishna Pillai, took root and gave a new dimension and purpose to the Malayalam drama, namely, to make people think about the social and psychological problems which formed the core of these plays. Although the element of festive entertainment is absent from these, they are enjoyed as people see their own and their neighbours' problems in them. Five well-known plays of Ibsen have come into Malayalam by way of translation.[1]

There are several others who have been influenced by the Ibsen technique. Pulimana's *Samatavadi*, C. J. Thomas's 128 *le Crime* 27,

[1] Vide Appendix D.

K. Surendran's *Bali* and G. Sankara Pillai's *Snehadutan* are just a few examples of plays which throb with a problem, and where Ibsen's ideals are unmistakably reflected. *Muṭiyanāya Puṭran* (The Prodigal Son), *Putiya Akālavum Putiya Bhumiyum* (New Sky and New Earth), and *Aśwamedham* (Horse Sacrifice) by Thoppil Bhasi are all popular problem plays. Bhasi has a sensitive eye for the stage. He is considered as the most popular modern playwright. The influence of the West on him is more indirect than direct.

Other Influential Western Dramatists

In recent times it is not only Ibsen who has influenced Malayalam drama. The playwrights appreciate and critically assess the dramas of Strindberg, Shaw, Maeterlinck, Chekhov, Luigi Pirandello, Eugene O'Neill, Samuel Beckett, Tennessee Williams, Eliot, Arthur Miller, Thornton Wilder, and others. Their works have considerably influenced the work of contemporary dramatists. It is difficult to single out plays which are clear-cut imitations of this or that Western author or Western title. However, the influence is clear. Apart from the names already mentioned, we can refer to a few more who show Western impact in their writing, namely, Omcheri, Vaikkom Chandrasekahran Nair, C. N. Sreekanthan Nair, Veeraraghavan Nair, S. L. Puram Sadananadan, N. K. Achari, and Thikkodiyan.

Mekkolla Parameswaran Pillai is an author who has dabbled in many fields—novels, plays, and criticism. He has read and appreciated several foreign authors, English, French, Russian and German, and has been considerably influenced by them. It may be said of him that he frequently dips his pen in Western ink. His first drama *Viranidhanam* was written in an attempt to copy the technique of Shakespeare. In his later plays Moliere and Ibsen have been his models. In his *Navīnanatakadarśam* (A Discourse on Modern Dramaturgy), he has taken so much from the critical works on drama published in the West, and has translated so many extracts from well-known plays, that it is Western from cover to cover except for the language. The book has served as a good preliminary guide for young playwrights in the language. (See Chapter XII.)

Short Plays

One-act plays and radio plays are fast becoming popular. The periodicals serve up the former and the All-India Radio the latter. As both have to be short, extreme concentration is necessary for their success. K. Ramakrishna Pillai is one of the pioneers in the writing of one-act plays in the language. There are others, including Omcheri, N. K. Achari, Abraham Joseph, Veeran, S. K. Nayar, and the present writer, who have contributed several short plays for both stage and radio. All have been considerably activated and stimulated by the Western technique and example.

To take only one author, Omcheri : his *I Veliccam Ningalkullatākunnu* (This Light Is for You) shows the thematic influence of Jack London while his *itu Nammute Nātānu* (This Is Our Country) is a discursive play of ideas in imitation of Bernard Shaw's technique.

There are several imitations and adaptations as well as many original works cast in Western moulds. Their number is legion.

Conclusion

Malayalees have learnt a good deal from the West, not only in the matter of writing plays but also in the technique of presenting them on the stage. More attention is paid to various aspects of production now. Despite the dearth of good producers and high-class theatres with modern equipment, the production of Malayalam plays has improved considerably in the last twenty-five years. The influence of the West is recognizable in certain aspects such as the following : (1) changes of scenes have been made less frequent by limiting the number of scenes ; (2) the interval between scenes has been appreciably reduced ; (3) undue emphasis on make-up has gone ; (4) instead of curtains, a permanent setting with a three-dimensional emphasis has been introduced ; (5) acting talent has been recognized as more important than looks.

As a craft and as an art, the writing of plays has been considerably modernized. Plays have become more true to life with deeper emotional and intellectual content. Any sincere critic will be able to see a high degree of Westernization in this process of modernization of the Malayalam drama.

Chapter XII

LITERARY CRITICISM

Can Malayalam claim a tradition of literary criticism? The tradition it had before it came into contact with the Western pattern of criticism was derived from the great Sanskrit tradition. This is so in the case of almost all the Indian languages. Not only the creation but the appreciation of literature is partly conditioned by the cultural traditions. This does not prevent the interaction of different traditions and the consequent evolution of an international standard. The Sanskrit tradition is really the Indian tradition, comparable to the Greek tradition both in antiquity and philosophical approach. Sanskrit poetics has placed the *Sahṛidaya* as the central figure in the appreciation of literature. There is no term in English which conveys the full import of the word *Sahṛidaya*. A person who earns that designation is a critic and a connoisseur at the same time.

There are various theories of aesthetics propounded in Indian poetics—centering on *rasa*, *dhwani*, *rīti*, *vakrokti*, etc.—each emphasizing a certain aspect. In general the *rasa* theory seems to be the most satisfying, and it has been developed into a comprehensive scientific system by the Sanskrit aestheticians. Like the term *Sahṛidaya*, *rasa* also has no precise equivalent in English, though it is often translated as 'sentiment.' The briefest and most effective definition of poetry in Sanskrit is *vākyam* (a string of words) that is *rasātmakam* (embodiment of *rasa*) is Kaya. A *Sahṛidaya* (*hṛidaya*=heart) is a person who has a heart capable of enjoying such expression and being in tune with that of the poet. The two terms *rasa* and *Sahṛidaya* are indicative of the stress on the emotional aspect of criticism in Indian tradition. In contrast, it may be said that the West emphasizes the intellectual component. A critic, if the original sense in Greek is examined, is essentially a fault-finder. But criticism as a discipline is at once intellectual and emotional. Appreciation of literature is akin to creation, and every human being is in some degree a *Sahṛidaya*, capable of enjoying good literature. A good critic is a *Sahṛidaya* who is blessed with a high degree of insight so that he can get at the merits of

a work without effort. He is therefore capable not only of enjoying literary creations much better than most, but of arousing the reader's dormant sensibility to full participation. It is therefore the function of criticism to stimulate and refine the average reader's literary sensibility.

A theory of criticism cannot come from out of the blue; it has to grow from a theory of literature. Ancient Sanskrit literature is the basis for the Sanskrit theory of criticism. The great Sanskrit classics produced excellent works of criticism. The various commentaries and illuminating dissertations on the classics are good pieces of literature in themselves. The writers in the modern Indian languages have been fed on these works. However, practitioners of criticism in these languages did not always follow the true spirit of criticism envisioned in the Indian tradition proper. They concentrated, rather, on the external aspects of poetry, such as the descriptions, rhetoric, metre, figures of speech, etc., which were less elusive than the spirit of the work. There were elaborate treatises giving rules and regulations of various kinds to guide them. The general trend of such is pointed out in the chapter on poetry. Those who codified the rules did not consider them dogmatic, but the later critics unfortunately took them as such. Thus the spirit was lost sight of in the consideration of the body, the unity of design forgotten while concentrating on parts.

The theory of criticism in the West, which had its origin in Greek, had a more or less continuous and substantial growth in the various modern languages of Europe. Unfortunately, the theory of criticism which the Indian literature inherited from Sanskrit did not show any appreciable growth down the centuries. In some languages it degenerated into a mechanical and bookish application of rules. Malayalam happens to be one of these languages.

The principles of Western criticism enunciated by Aristotle have, down the ages, passed through the hands of Horace, Longinus, Philip Sidney, Dryden, Addison, Samuel Johnson, Coleridge, Shelley, Sainte Beuve, Arnold, Walter Pater, and Croce, and in the process have been considerably enriched and dynamized. When, in the early decades of this century, critics in Malayalam looked towards the West for guidance, they were considerably impressed. Some of them gave serious thought as to how certain traits of Western criticism could be incorporated into a literature

which had a different background and tradition. Of them, A. R. Rajaraja Varma is by far the most outstanding.

The Early Generation of Critics

A. R. Rajaraja Varma

We have already seen what Kerala Varma was able to do for Malayalam when it became an important part of the Western type of education in schools. Very soon the Madras University gave Malayalam and other oriental languages a status equivalent to the optional subjects in the degree course. It is at that opportune time that A. R. Rajaraja Varma became the professor of languages in the Maharaja's College at Trivandrum. A great scholar in Sanskrit, a great devotee of Malayalam, well educated in English and the sciences, a writer of creative and critical talents, and above all a person blessed with keen analytic insight, Rajaraja Varma became a man of destiny as far as Malayalam was concerned. It is he who laid the foundation for the scientific development of the Malayalam language and literature. Even today, nearly half a century after his demise, the authoritative books on grammar, prosody, and poetics are all his. The manner in which he assimilated the Eastern and Western traditions in his approach to these topics, is simply admirable. Here we are particularly concerned with the kind of poetics and modern literary criticism which he proposed as good and suitable for Malayalam.

Rajaraja Varma believed that a good student of poetry and literary criticism in his language should be familiar with both the Eastern and Western canons of literary appraisal. He further believed that a standard of literary criticism in Malayalam could be evolved which would draw the best elements from both. He felt, however, that the standard need not necessarily have the same emphasis where poetry and prose are concerned, particularly as regards the external apparatus. While evaluating poetry, he lays stress on the Eastern or Sanskritic tradition of criticism. His *Bhāṣābhuṣanam*, a comprehensive treatise on poetics, is based on well-known works in Sanskrit. In this work he explains all important *alaṅkāras*, giving suitable examples from Malayalam works or, when such examples were not easily available, improvising them from his own fertile imagination. *Alaṅkāras* refer not only

to *artha* (meaning) but also to *śabda* (sound) so that various kinds of rhymes are discussed. He also explains the various theories like *rasa* and *dhwani*.

While *Bhāṣābhuṣanam* is a good guide for assessing the merits of verse composition, it has not much relevance for prose. Rajaraja Varma wrote another book to assist writers of prose, *Sāhityasāhyam* (1911). Here he has been considerably guided by English models. This is clear from every section of the book. In his preface, the author refers to the pull in two directions in the structure of Malayalam prose—towards Sanskrit, by the 'pandits,' and towards English, by the 'graduates.' In this confused state, he comes forward to guide the future writers. He says, 'I have copied from English writers on style and idiom as far as possible and added my own ideas in the light of what they have shown.' In the initial chapter he divides literature into categories according to external appearance (prose, verse, or mixed) and according to objective (didactic or entertaining). However, as regards form, he classifies it as narration (*Akhyānam*), description (*Varṇanam*), explanation (*Vivaranam*), or argument (*Upapadanam*). Then he goes into further detail, and in both the treatment of the subject and the terms employed, one finds the clear influence of English. Although the terms actually employed in the book are all taken from Sanskrit, the English equivalents of these terms are given in a glossary at the end of the book, with the specific purpose of pinpointing the precise meanings. Terms like 'punctuation,' 'paragraph,' 'essay,' 'idiom,' 'style,' and 'elegance' show the manner in which the mind of the author was working while dealing with the subject. It is quite likely that he was guided by Fowler, though he did not depend fully on any particular work. Appan Thampuran, who wrote the Foreword to *Sāhityasāhyam*, also states in unambiguous terms that modern Malayalam prose marches in the footsteps of English prose.

One may wonder why there should be two yardsticks, one for poetry and another for prose. The main reason is that Malayalam has a poetic tradition shaped under the strong influence of Sanskrit, whereas prose forms are comparatively recent and influenced by English. All this consideration is with reference to the form and structure. As regards the spirit, the emotional and intellectual content, the ideas of West and East should blend. This has been amply demonstrated by Rajaraja Varma in his

well-known critical appreciations. His introduction to *Nalacaritam Āṭṭakkatha* is an excellent model of literary assessment and appreciation. Here we see how Eastern scholarship and Western spirit have combined to produce such an appreciation. In his introduction to Appan Thampuran's detective novel *Bhāskara Menon* we see a Western critic in Eastern garb. His foreword to Kerala Varma's *Mayurasandeśam* is also an example of a fine blend of the classical and modern spirit. And while introducing Asan's romantic lyric *Nalini* to Malayalam readers unaccustomed to such poetry, Rajaraja Varma rises to the level of Matthew Arnold and Shelley.

Rajaraja Varma is an excellent example of a composite culture—a commingling of three traditions, Dravidian, Aryan, and European. He evolved a dignified style of Malayalam, neither too high-brow nor too pedestrian. Malayalam prose before him was varying among the documentary, commentary, and pedestrian styles.[1] Kerala Varma introduced a rather ornate and high-brow style, but Rajaraja Varma paved the way for a direct and simple diction both by example and precept. In this we see the clear cut influence of English prose on him.

One of the pioneers of literary criticism in the language is C. P. Achutha Menon, editor of *Vidyāvinodini*. He has reviewed several books in the columns of this magazine and these reviews indicate how much he was influenced by the Western mode of literary assessment.

P. K. Narayana Pillai

Rajaraja Varma's major works on poetics and literary appreciation were written in the first two decades of the present century. Very soon another star came up on the horizon of literary criticism, and that was P. K. Narayana Pillai. Pillai happened to be a disciple of Rajaraja Varma. The teacher had so much esteem for the student that he requested him to contribute an introduction to his *magnum opus*, the second edition of *Kerala Pāṇiniyam*. Like the teacher, the student was also well versed in Sanskrit and English. Narayana Pillai had poetical gifts too, but it is as a critic that he is really outstanding. He published, for the first time in the history

[1] George, K. M. *A Survey of Malayalam Literature*, pp. 127-132.

of literature, elaborate and exhaustive critical appreciations of the classics in Malayalam.

His first work was on Kunchan Nambiyar and his *Tullal*. Then he wrote on *Kṛiṣṇagatha*, discussing the poetic excellence and the difficult questions of authorship, date etc. His third important work is on Ezhuthachan and his contribution to Malayalam literature. Narayana Pillai is seen as a historian, critic, and true *Sahṛidaya*. Certainly, he considers the beauty of the form and technical perfection, but without being content with that, he brings a fresh insight into the essentials of the work under scrutiny. In the latter task, he was guided by critical studies in English. His critical appreciation of classical works in the language has sharpened the alchemy of perception and sensation as far as the average reader is concerned.

Other critics of the earlier generation

There are quite a few of the same generation who contributed useful articles and books to the field of criticism. Most of them, though having a background of Sanskrit education, were familiar with Western criticism and were to some extent influenced by foreign trends. The more outstanding among them are K. Ramakrishna Pillai (who published trenchant criticisms of current publications), Ulloor Parameswara Iyer (who dwelt upon well-known *Campus* and other works of lasting interest), C. Anthappai (who concentrated on Malayalam dramas:, D. P. Unni (who wrote more on contemporary literary works), Kunjiraman Nayanar (who also concentrated on contemporary compositions), and P. Sankaran Nambiyar (who wrote about well-known literary forms in English).

The Second Generation of Critics

So far literary criticism was mainly concerned with poetical works, except for certain book reviews. East and West had combined in the literary assessment, but the dominant concept was the Eastern. In the thirties we pass on to another stage and another generation of critics. Here the Western approach becomes more prominent, and literary appreciation of prose works in Malayalam assumes a greater importance than ever before.

A. Balakrishna Pillai (1889-1960)

One of the most revolutionary characters in Malayalam literature is A. Balakrishna Pillai who had his eyes in Europe and his pen in Kerala. As mentioned already, he encouraged his friends and disciples to be daring and different. He urged them to look not only at England, but at France, Germany and Russia for inspiration and guidance. This produced good results, for he had a good number of admirers with creative talent and imagination. He took great pains to introduce the Western forms and wrote in detail explaining the techniques. Whether he wrote a foreword or a review to a book, he would compare the Malayalam writers with one or another of the outstanding writers in the West and the reference would always be laudatory. This was positive encouragement for Malayalam writers. His forewords to *Nimisham* (G. Sankara Kurup), *Katathu Vanchi* (Ketamangalam), *Spandikkunna Astimādam* (Changampuzha), *Maninādam* (Idappalli), *Hāsyalahari* (Seetharaman), and *Swatantrakeralam* (Bodheswaran) are particularly well known. Some of them are long dissertations covering about seventy-five pages. Balakrishna Pillai approached literary works with the detachment and analytical mind of a scientist. His critical works are replete with Western technical terms and names of first and second-rate authors in European languages. The following are his important works in the field of literary criticism.

Sānketika grandha nirupanannal (1957) :—This contains sixteen critical essays explaining Western techniques and centring on books in Malayalam.

Rupa manjari (1937) :—The following topics are discussed : essay, criticism, novel, romance, short story, prose drama, farce, biography, and autobiography. Each section commences with an explanatory note on the genre, followed up by two or three examples. About half the examples are translations of Western contributions. The notes are sprinkled with foreign technical terms.

Novel prasthānannal (1947) :—In twelve brief chapters he discusses the various types of novels in European languages. He goes into technicalities of the behaviourist novel, the psychoanalytic novel, the *roman-fleuve* and stream-of-consciousness types, etc. He also introduces authors like Faulk..er, Hemingway,

Thomas Mann, Henry James, Proust, Virginia Woolf, Gide, Montherlant, and books like *Extraordinary Women*, *The Hotel*, *The Awkward Age*, *The Ambassadors*, *The American Virgin* and *Sodom and Gomorrah*.

Joseph Mundassery

Mundassery is a modern critic who is equally at home with the Eastern and Western tenets of criticism. He has dealt with poetry, both classical and contemporary, and also modern prose. As a progressive thinker and a vehement and persuasive writer and speaker, his influence on modern Malayalam literature has been significant. He expresses his view so powerfully, especially when he wants to condemn, that he has been considered by some as an iconoclast in modern criticism. In this world guided by propaganda, he perhaps believes that getting a hearing is more important than stating a truth with poise and precision. However, truth there is in what he advocates and he has a point of view which cannot be ignored. He has written a large number of books which can be classed under literary criticism. They can be divided into two categories : (1) those which deal with principles of literary criticism and (2) those in which the principles are applied to selected books. In the latter, he has assessed the works of most of the major poets like Asan, Vallathol, and Ulloor and also some of the well-known prose works.

The former category comprises the following works :

Kāvyapīthika :—This is the first major work which discusses the Eastern and Western principles of criticism and tries to compare them and evolve standards suitable for Malayalam.

Rupabhadratavādam :—Here Mundassery discusses the merits of "form" and "content" in literature and points out that form cannot be dissociated from content. At the same time he does not spare writers who are addicted to "formalism."

Nātakāntam Kavitvam :—This is one of the latest works of Mundassery. Here he introduces a new point of view in literary criticism and highlights the role of the dramatic technique for permanent literary value, whatever the genre.

Works which contain critical assessments of well-known books in the language are : *Mānadandam*, *Mātioli*, *Antariksam*, *Vāyanasālayil* and *Kālattinte Kannādi*. In these as well as in *Rājarājante*

mātīoli where he discusses the contribution of A. R. Rajaraja Varma, one finds that Mundassery has been considerably influenced by Western critics. He has been particularly influenced by I. A. Richards, Abercrombie, Croce, and such moderns. But he has made an attempt throughout to fertilize the European borrowings in criticism by filtering into them what is relevant from the Indian tradition. His style of writing itself is recognizably influenced by English, not only in the choice of words and expressions but even in syntax.

M. P. Paul

Like P. Sankaran Nambiyar, M. P. Paul was a professor of English literature who took genuine interest in Malayalam. He was a true *Sahṛidaya* who enjoyed the vast treasures of English literature and was thoroughly conversant with the Western technique of literary criticism. But he was not one to praise all foreign works and condemn most things local. He was highly independent and assessed literary works according to a high standard which became part of his own personality, as a result of assimilating the best in the world of letters. He wrote with admirable composure and balance and was little concerned with personalities. The best judiciously tempered criticism in Malayalam comes from his pen ; and this trait of moderation is in a large measure due to his long association with the best critical and creative works in the English language.

Apart from forewords and critical appraisals of individual books, Paul has written the following books dealing with the subject.

Novel Sāhityam :—Written in 1930, this is the first full-fledged account of the basic technique of the novel, as the genre is known in European languages. There are nine chapters describing the various aspects of the novel, followed by five chapters assessing, the merits and demerits of the Malayalam novel. In the initial chapters he discusses the evolution of the Western novel, the story, the plot and its five stages of development, the art of maintaining suspense, characterization, and the objectives of the novel. Thus after showing the characteristics of a good novel, Paul takes up the important novels of the language by Chandu Menon, C. V. Raman Pillai, and Appan Thampuran. Here we have an excellent model of literary criticism.

Cerukatha Prasthanam (1932) :—This is a book on the short story, similar to *Novel Sahityam*. The general characteristics of the short story and its evolution as a literary form are explained in detail. The author goes into the various technical aspects of the genre and refers to well-known authors and works in the European languages, particularly English. This has been of great use to the story writers in the language. As a matter of fact, most of the outstanding short stories in Malayalam have been written since the publication of the first edition of the book, which has had frequent reprints.

Soundarya-niriksanam (1947) :—This is a dissertation on aesthetics. Though the discussion takes an independent line, the author reflects the views of well-known aestheticians of the West. In four chapters he discusses the basis of what the artist considers beautiful and compares beauty in nature and beauty in art, quoting authorities from Socrates to C. E. M. Joad in support of his views. He also examines the views of the French philosopher Bergson and the German aesthetician Lessing.

Other critics of the period

There are a few other veterans who belong to the generation of Mundassery such as Kuttikrishna Marar and Kuttipuzha Krishna Pillai. Marar is one of the outstanding critics in the language. He is a very good scholar of Sanskrit and master of chiselled Malayalam prose. He does not know English, but we cannot say that he is unfamiliar with certain trends in Western literature and literary criticism. In this regard he is somewhat like Vallathol. He is a highly independent personality with sharp insight. We cannot say that his criticism resembles the Western type. He has provided an interesting challenge to facile imitators of the West.

Kuttipuzha Krishna Pillai

While Balakrishna Pillai, Mundassery and Paul are products of English education, Kuttikrishna Marar is the product of the traditional type of learning. Kuttipuzha Krishna Pillai started his career with the traditional type of education, like Marar ; but years of self-education and persistent hard work opened to him the richness and vastness of Western thought and literature. To start with, he was only an oriental title (*Vidwan*) holder, but he mastered

English privately, took an M.A. degree in Malayalam, and was professor of Malayalam for a long time. Here we see a man who created opportunities and made use of them in the best manner possible. His association with the college gave him a chance to expose himself to Western books and professors dealing with many aspects of scientific and liberal education. He diligently studied the well-known works of Darwin, Marx, Lenin, Bertrand Russell, H. G. Wells, Freud, Will Durant, Thomas Paine, Romain Rolland, Tolstoy, Victor Hugo, Gorky, Maupassant and Voltaire. His writings reveal the fact that he has been influenced by most of the above-mentioned writers, and in particular by Darwin, Marx, Freud, Russell and Wells. Kuttipuzha is more thoroughly familiar with the modern currents of Western thought than many of the English-educated writers of the present day. He has read a great deal, has a great capacity for digesting and absorbing the essentials, and is not merely a carrier of quotations. He is a revolutionary thinker, progressive writer, and fearless critic. He gladly admits the influence of Western books on him : "The Western authors have helped in giving me general knowledge, have acted as an impetus to free thinking, and have helped me cultivate a scientific outlook and rationalistic approach." His important critical works are *Sāhitiyam*, *Vimarśaraśmi*, *Grandhāvalokanam*, and *Nirīkṣanam*.

A few more names

There are quite a few other critics who have in some way or other guided the writers and readers in the language by their literary studies and appraisals of books. Among them, those who have shown definite Western influence are K. Bhaskaran Nair, P. Damodaran Pillai, P. K. Parameswaran Nair, S. Guptan Nair, Vakkom Abdul Khadar, M. S. Devadass, and K. Damodaran.

Ideological Clashes in Literary Criticism

We have already seen how the seeds of revolution were sowed by A. Balakrishna Pillai. During the thirties a number of writers with a progressive outlook came into prominence. Soon there arose clashes between various groups in the field of literary criticism. The younger writers were to an extent guided by the vociferous critics. To indicate the trend of discussions and disp[illegible]s, we shall briefly refer to the main topics.

Form and content

A controversy over form and content was one of these ideological conflicts which engaged the attention of critics for about two years. One side advocated that "form" (*rupa*) was unimportant and that "content" (*bhava*) or its fidelity to life should alone determine the quality of a literary work ; art is not for art's sake. The other side argued that in literature form was of the highest importance, as otherwise a work could not be called literature. They were not against propagating a particular ideology through literary works, but they insisted that a high level of art must be maintained. Discussions in conferences and in periodicals, explaining both sides, went on for several months. Both sides were quoting Western authorities in support of their point of view. *Rupabhadratavadam* by Mundassery, to which we referred earlier, was written during this conflict. In this, the importance of form is vindicated, even while admitting that many writers in the past were slaves of form, if not its victims.

Symbolism under fire

The extremists in the progressive group were against the use of symbolism in poetry. They preferred plain words. A strong expression of this viewpoint resulted in a personal attack on the well-known contemporary poet G. Sankara Kurup. This happened at Trivandrum in 1954 at the Kerala Sahitya Parishath Conference over which Kurup presided. K. Damodaran (Mayyanad) declared that unless Kurup were to change his figurative language and shed his symbolic garb, he could not be considered a poet of the people. Kurup in his presidential address, gave an impassioned and masterly expression of his particular form of art. This led to several months of attack and counter-attack both in the press and on the platform. Kurup is not the spokesman for any political party. He has deep sympathy for the suffering man, yet his language is not of the platform but of poetry, which is indirect and couched in attractive imageries. As usual, support for both attack and defence was sought from European authorities.

More recognition for spoken language

As the years passed by, literature was spreading to lower levels from the few at the top. This process of democratization also meant a change in style and idiom. Particularly during the active

period of the progressive school of writers, the gulf between the written language and the spoken language was considerably reduced, as a result of the desire to depict life as it is. Half a century ago, even in fiction, it would have been difficult to find Christian or Muslim characters. If a story were written about them the literary critics would raise their eyebrows. But things have changed considerably in the contemporary period. Not only Christian and Muslim characters, but people from all communities and all levels of life figure in stories and plays these days. Naturally, the colloquial language of every community and every region has come to stay in modern writing. This is not only accepted today ; there is such a fad for certain colloquialisms that writers vie with one another, for instance, to reproduce the Muslim dialect of Malabar or the Christian dialect of central Travancore.

Prose versus poetry

Another concomitant of the modern period is the cold war between prose and poetry. There is a faction of critics who hold that this is the age of prose and not of poetry, which by its very nature requires a certain amount of rigidity and artificiality. A decade ago N. V. Krishna Varier, who is both a poet and a critic, raised the question, " Has poetry in Malayalam dried up ? ". This does not mean that verse as a literary form has become extinct in Malayalam. It only means that in popularity and prestige poetry has suffered a decline. For some, the special advantage of the verse form seems merely to be a facility for memorizing ; therefore it appears to them that in an industrial age with so many facilities for easy reference and cheap communication, prose is the most natural medium. Mundassery in his *Natakantam Kavitvam* has said that lyrics have no future but that verse with dramatic quality can survive. Poetry in Malayalam has not deteriorated much ; however, prose has progressed so much that in comparison poetry looks emaciated. This is the case in Western countries as well. It seems that, these days, strong resemblances to Western trends can first be found in Kerala before such influence spreads to other linguistic regions.

Books of Significance in Literary Criticism

While discussing the contributions of Balakrishna Pillai, Paul and Mundassery, we had occasion to refer to certain books which

deal with literary criticism either in a general way or with certain specific aspects. There are many more books of similar character in the language. Of these, we will list below a few which show the influence of Western literary approaches.

Sāhitya pravēśika

As the title suggests, this is an introduction to literature and literary criticism written by Suranad Kunjan Pillai, an erudite scholar and essayist. He is equally conversant with the Eastern and Western approaches to literary appreciation. The book is an unmistakable evidence of his familiarity with the well-known critics of the English language.

Navīna nātakadarśam

In writing this treatise on modern drama, Mekkolla Paremeswaran Pillai has been greatly indebted to various authors and books in English. The reader gets a fairly comprehensive idea of the evolution of the dramatic technique in the West till the beginning of the twentieth century. He also gives a good many examples of well-known plays in European languages to illustrate the various points.[1]

Uyarunna yavanika

The title, strictly rendered, reads "The Rising Curtain." This is a monograph by C. J. Thomas on the technique of writing and producing plays. The author speaks as an expert who has digested modern theories on the subject propounded by critics of the West.

Paschatya sāhitya darśanam

This is fairly a comprehensive survey of Western literary criticism written by M. Achuthan. Except for the language and occasional comparisons with the Eastern approaches, everything in this book centres on Western literature, particularly the English, French, Spanish, German, and Russian. It commences with some general observations on literature and literary criticism, and then passes on to the theories enunciated by Plato and Aristotle. After surveying the trends in the Middle Ages and the romantic revolution during the time of Wordsworth and Coleridge, the author comes to the modern period. He goes on to a discussion of socialist

[1] Vide chapter on drama, p. 157.

realism, the influence of Marx and Freud on literary conceptions, mysticism, symbolism, surrealism, expressionism, and finally existentialism in literature. Most of the technical terms are borrowed as they are.

From the body of the book and the quotations given in English as well as in translation, the reader will be able to assess how much of Western thought and conceptions have gone into the making of the book. The work covers a large field and is informative, though not uniformly well digested. The bibliography of eighty-six books at the end of the book brings in well-known authors such as Saintsbury, Hudson, F. R. Leavis, Matthew Arnold, Caudwell, Ifor Evans, Bradley, Abercrombie, F. L. Lucas, I. A. Richards, T. S. Eliot, Day-Lewis, Middleton Murry, and Sartre.

Jīvacaritrasāhityam

This is a treatise on biography and autobiography by K. M. George. Out of fourteen chapters, the first eight are devoted to a discussion of the technique of biography and how it developed in the West. The contributions of Johnson, Boswell, Lytton Strachey, Gamaliel Bradford, Andre Maurois and Emil Ludwig are explained in some detail. Then comes an appraisal of biographical works in the language, keeping the high standard evolved in the West at the back of the mind. The last two chapters are devoted to a discussion of the characteristics of autobiography and a critical assessment of some of the well-known autobiographies in Malayalam.

The select bibliography given at the end in a way reveals how much the author has been indebted to Western critics in writing this book. The more important works among them are :

Britt, Albert, *The Great Biographers* ;
Clifford, J. L., *Biography as an Art* ;
Longaker, Mark, *Contemporary Biography* ;
Maurois, Andre, *Aspects of Biography* ; and
Nicolson, Harold, *The Development of English Biography.*

Chandu Menon—Oru Pathanam

This is a brilliant evaluation by P. K. Balakrishnan of the contribution of Chandu Menon to the novel in Malayalam. Such critical studies of authors and books are not few in English, but

they are not many in Malayalam. The author's independent approach and ability to throw fresh light on familiar things are praiseworthy. At the same time one is able to see a strong resemblance to the Western critical approach in his treatment of the subject.

Novel—Sidhiyum Sādhanayum

This is another interesting book on literary criticism by P. K. Balakrishnan, which provides further proof, if proof is required, of his familiarity with many Western authors and shows how his approach has been moulded by them. Still, his moorings are on Eastern soil. In this book, among other things, the author attempts to evaluate the novels of Jane Austen and Dostoyevsky. Evidently he had been stimulated by *Pride and Prejudice* and *The Brothers Karamazov*.

Krāntadarśikal

S. Guptan Nair is one of the popular critics who have drunk deeply from Western literature. He is familiar with currents of Western literary criticism and has been particularly influenced by Matthew Arnold, Coleridge, and Hazlitt. This is evident from his articles collected in *Ādhunikasāhityam* and *Samālocana*. In *Krāntadarśikal* he has introduced six Western authors including Shaw and Ibsen, throwing light on their major contributions. The generous manner in which he draws upon and reflects Western ideas can be surmised even from the title of his latest book, *Isaṅṅalkkappuṟam* (Beyond Isms). He is balanced and graceful in his assessment of trends and personalities.

Kalācintakal

This book by S. K. Nayar contains ten essays on various "isms" in literature, such as symbolism, mysticism, surrealism etc. The impact of Western critics is unmistakable in these essays.

Kalādarśanam

K. M. Daniel the author has made a perceptive study of aesthetics in this book and has discussed the nature and significance of art with skill. He has drawn liberally from Western theoreticians on the subject.

The following books contain valuable essays on literature and literary criticism reflecting the Western thought.

Sāhityaniṣkutam—P. Sankaran Nambiyar.
Makarandamañjari—P. Sankaran Nambiyar.
Sāhitya Vicāram—M. P. Paul.
Sāhityasarani—D. P. Unni.
Kiranannal—K. N. Ezhuthachan.
Malayala Natakannalilude—Kattumatam.
Deivanītikku dāksinyamilla—K. Bhaskaran Nair.
Asante Sītakāvyam—Sukumar Azhikode.
Kavitayilekku oru kaittiri—A. P. P. Nambudiri.
Adhunika Malayāla Kavita—M. Krishnan Nair.
Bhāvaraśmikal—P. K. Parameswaran Nair.
Goethe—E. M. J. Venniyoor.

Critical editions of classics

Critical introductions to classics are also substantial contributions to literary criticism. There are quite a few of such editions with scholarly introductions, most of which are modelled on well known editions of English classics. Dr. P. K. Narayana Pillai's contribution to this aspect of literary criticism is particularly praiseworthy. Of special interest are the editions of *Cintāratnam*, *Padyaratnam* and *Harināmakīrtanam* brought out by him.

Ilamkulam Kunjan Pillai and Suranad Kunjan Pillai have also brought out valuable critical editions of classics.

Histories of Literature

A history of literature is a record of facts relating to literary phenomena. Such a record will take into account literary movements, traditions, and attitudes. The historian is interested in telling us not only the facts, but the meaning of the facts. In other words, the historian is also a critic who helps the readers to assess the contributions of various ages and personalities. We have quite a few historical accounts of Malayalam literature. Critical assessments are also found in these histories. Most of these historians have derived their general technique and approach to historical facts from well-known historians of English literature. As we refer to the same subject in Chapter XIV, we shall say no more here.

The Rising Generation of Critics

When literature gained new dimensions in the recent decades, criticism also gained similar dimensions. It cannot be otherwise, because after all criticism captures the essentials of creation. Criticism necessarily follows creation. From bygone days, critics have been detested by creative writers. Critics try to pass judgment on creative writing, and the writers condemn the critics as parasites. Yet each has its function and role in society. Generally speaking, creation precedes criticism, and the critic gets his tools from the artistic creations which have already gained acclaim. By and large, writers of originality do not heed the critics ; but it is nevertheless true that critics can influence and guide the creative writers, though the latter may not readily admit this. It is particularly so when critics are armed with tools which they have obtained from other well-developed literatures. This has been happening in the case of Malayalam where critics, who are familiar with standard European works take up some work in the language for assessment.

With the increase in the number of periodicals and new books in the language, book-review columns have become a common affair. Many young people thus get a chance to become critics through writing for these columns, especially if they have some connections with the editorial staff. There are several writers in the language who have no other claim to authorship, yet they presume to sit in judgment on experienced writers. Now and then we have people of mature literary judgment also giving critical assessments of books. It cannot be denied that from among the freshmen, a few will develop as good critics in due course. In Malayalam now there is a multitude of critics—good, bad and indifferent. A large majority of them get their guidance from Western masters. A few of them rise above the level of book reviewers and evolve as critics of literary taste and judgment. They are familiar with critical reviews published in the *Times Literary Supplement*, the *New York Times*, *Encounter*, and other well-known English-language periodicals. They are at home with the writings of Quiller-Couch, I. A. Richards, T. S. Eliot, F. R. Leavis, C. S. Lewis, Herbert Read, Middleton Murry, Dover Wilson and Allen Tate. At the same time, there are large numbers of immature reviewers posing as critics who have digested the best in Western criticism, and to impress the readers (and perhaps to depress the

authors) they flash Western names in support of their views and swear by them. Some of them depend entirely on the blurbs of publishers and reviews written by good critics. They have neither a real knowledge of Western literature nor a developed taste, yet they want to pass judgments and create a kind of politics in literary matters. It is about such quacks, who sometimes have a university degree, that P. Kesava Dev has passed the trenchant remark that they are nothing better than colporteurs in black gown. Criticism has been much abused in recent years. However, for its good use and abuse, Western masters have been handy, sometimes like the devil quoting Scripture.

Among the contemporary practitioners who have assimilated Western ideas, the more well-known critics in Malayalam are N. V. Krishna Warier, Sukumar Azhikode, M. Krishnan Nair, M. Achuthan, M. K. Sanoo, and A. P. P. Nambudiri. One must concede that it is familiarity with Western literary criticism that has given confidence to contemporary critics and placed them in a position of vantage. At the same time, it must be admitted that in recent years the Indian '*Sahṛidaya*' has been overshadowed by the Western 'critic'; in other words, the art of identifying with the imaginative mind of the author and giving fresh insights has suffered in the face of a preoccupation with searching out the faults and weak spots of literary works.

In retrospect, we may say that in the last half a century, the West has considerably moulded our approach to and methods of literary criticism. From a science based on analysis, literary criticism has evolved into an art based on synthesis and analysis; from an emphasis on rhetoric and aesthetics it has moved on to an emphasis on imagination and emotion which emanates from a philosophy of life.

Chapter XIII

JOURNALISM

The growth of the journalistic output in Malayalam in recent years has been phenomenal and many-sided. Various factors have contributed to this extraordinary growth, but the most significant among them is the constant contact which journalistic agencies in Kerala maintained with the West. The present writer was generally aware of the fact that journalism has been the arena for a great inroad of Westernism, but even he was quite surprised at the range and magnitude of Western influence which the daily newspaper in Malayalam revealed when examined with this specific idea in mind.

It would be interesting to take a casual look at a daily newspaper. The one picked at random for this purpose is the July 6, 1967, issue of the *Mathrubhumi* daily. Leaving aside the technique of editing, the featuring, and the coverage of foreign news which smack of Western style, let us for the moment glance at the sub-headings on a few pages. The list below gives those sub-headings which are fully or in part Western. They are reproduced in Roman script with the Malayalam portions *in italics*.

General Assembly*il bhuripaksham*
Prasnam Security Council*il*

P. C. C. President *raaji vaccu*
Pratiye arrest *ceytu*
Postal Employees' Union

Leaders Trophy Football
Polytechnic *Pravesam*
License stay *ceytu*
State merit
Tele. Eng. Recreation Club

Scoutmaster's Refresher Course
Communist party*il ninnu* suspend *ceytu*
Indian Documentary Award
Standard *chappatti*
Federation president*inte prasthavana*

Assistant Surgeon-*mar*
Assistant Collector-*mar*
Assistant Engineer-*mar*
District Registrar-*mar*
Kozhikkoteek I. A. C. *Vimana* service

More than half the headings and sub-headings in the paper are like this. It is not advisable to jump to any immediate conclusion from these Westernized sub-titles, though it is certainly worthwhile examining how it has come to be so and why. Most of the words

here are English and some of them are not without proper Malayalam equivalents. But the paper prefers to use the English term, as that would more easily communicate the idea to be expressed. There may be differences of opinion about this, but so the editors believe. The Malayalam part is occasionally a full word, but more often a suffix like *mār* or *il*. These suffixes (bound morphemes) have the power to convert any foreign words (free morphemes) to their fold. In journalistic writings we have been borrowing foreign words rather freely. When a foreign word is newly introduced, the readers may feel a question mark in their mind, but this is only a temporary reaction. Gradually and steadily the readers are fed these loan words, so that the sense of foreign-ness disappears. Most English words can appear in Malayalam script without any serious disfigurement and the ordinary reader is not bothered about the origin of such words as *recreation*, *union*, *license*, etc. Inasmuch as he understands the significance of these terms, he is happy.

As we have pointed out, some of these terms have satisfactory equivalents in Malayalam, but the newspapers prefer to use the foreign term, sometimes with reason and sometimes without adequate consideration. The daily papers have more freedom in this regard, by common consent. The life of a daily is but twenty-four hours and hence people are not very much bothered about the purity and status of the words used. All the words used here would not be acceptable to periodicals of lesser frequency, in particular the literary journals. The writers of books are even more meticulous. Now, journalism comprises the writing and editing of newspapers (which are dailies these days) and periodicals which appear less frequently (weekly, bi-weekly, monthly, etc.). But the nature of Western influence in a weekly or monthly is not the same as in a daily newspaper. Most of the news for any Indian newspaper comes to it through the medium of English, and the translators in the newspaper office are under great pressure. Theirs is a rush job, and they have little time to ponder over the correct equivalent of a new term ; moreover, most of them are not competent to coin new terms in the language. So they solve their problem by transliterating the foreign term, and this usually clicks. Actually the newspaper is engaged in continuous experimentation regarding new terminologies. The translators engaged by the newspaper cannot wait for another day. Sometimes they may change the terms, having seen better equivalents used by others of the same

profession. All that the newspapers use will not be acceptable to the literary writer who has more time at his disposal and perhaps more competence also. However, the newspapers popularize a large number of foreign words in a language.

As a matter of fact, the journalists are in the vanguard as regards the cross-cultural exchanges and infiltrations that we see in the modern world. Among themselves the newspaper journalist is on the front line. He gets the first shots. The journalists of the weeklies and monthlies are not so exposed. After them come the popular writers, then the critics and scholars, and last of all the grammarians. The grammarian stands for the established rules and conventions, but he is at the rear and always follows the rest. In fact, there is a sifting at every stage in the long process. All that is accepted by the newspaper journalist will not be acceptable to his colleague who has a little more time to weigh words. The writer of books will be even more careful. He may not jump at every new word introduced by the journalist ; but quite a few of the terms that have been played about with or experimented upon by the journalists will come to stay and the author of books will eventually accept them. This is the way in which the vocabulary of a language grows. In this process, the journalist who jumps forward is often criticized and laughed at for glibly borrowing foreign terms ; but he is performing a valuable service, placed as he is in the forward area. In the transmission of news and views coming from all parts of the world, he has to constantly increase his range of vocabulary and in this process he is obliged to coin new terms, find parallel terms already existing in the language, or borrow the foreign terms when other avenues fail. In many cases, borrowing terms is the easiest way out, and in some cases it is the only way open. Thus the foreign impact will be more palpable in the journalist's realm. And foreign impact for Malayalam and other Indian languages is, practically, Western impact.

Before we proceed further with the nature of the impact, we shall briefly survey the history of journalism in Malayalam.

The Beginnings of Journalism in Malayalam

The first periodical to be published in any Indian language was the Bengali *Digdarśan*, which started as a monthly in 1818 and soon became a weekly under the name *Samāchāradarpan*. The sponsors

were missionaries of the Baptist Mission. In Malayalam it took thirty years more for the first periodical to get started. In June 1847, the Basel Mission published a monthly from Tellicherry under the title *Rajyasamāchāram*, mainly as an aid to missionary work. Dr. Gundert was behind this idea, though he was not the editor. In fact the editor's name was not found in the paper. In October 1847, the same Mission published another periodical, *Paschimodayam*, from the same place. This was secular and contained items on history, geography, and astrology. The editor's name was F. Muller.

Another missionary body soon made a similar attempt. This was at Kottayam, and the sponsors were the Church Missionary Society. In November 1848, they started publishing *Jnānanikṣepam*, a monthly dedicated, by and large, to missionary work. This was better produced than the other two periodicals. In due course the secular content of the journal increased. In its long history, the paper met with several vicissitudes, but it still functions as an organ of the Church of South India in Kerala.

We shall list a few early periodicals which performed a useful role, though most of them are now extinct.

Paśchima Taraka	1864	Cochin.
Kerala Patrika	1870	Cochin.
Vidyasamgraham	1870	Kottayam.
Keralopakari (Basel Mission) ..	1872	Mangalore (illustrated monthly)
Satyanada Kahalam (later Satyanadam) (Roman Catholic).	1876	Koonam mavu.
Kerala Candrika	1879	Trivandrum.
Vidyavilasini	1881	Trivandrum.
Kerala Mitram	1881	Cochin.
Kerala Patrika	1884	Calicut.
Malayali	1886	Trivandrum
Malayala Mitram	1888	Kottayam.
Nazrani Dīpika (later Dīpika) ..	1887	Mannanam.
Malayala Manorama	1890	Kottayam.

Most of the above commenced as monthlies. Only the last two are now functioning, and they are dailies. The missionaries were responsible for starting the earliest periodicals. From these small beginnings, journalistic enterprise in Malayalam has grown steadily

in the last 120 years. However, the real spurt is in the present century. We have now over forty dailies and an equal number of weeklies in the language. They vary greatly in resources, make-up, and circulation.

Escalation in the Circulation of Newspapers

Let us assess the manner in which newspapers have touched the generality of the people in the last three or four decades. If we examine two or three important newspapers, the picture will emerge.

Malayala Manorama (estd.)	..	1890
Kerala Kaumudi	,,	1911
Mathrubhumi	,,	1923

Manorama and *Kaumudi* started as weeklies and *Mathrubhumi* as a triweekly. The year in which each evolved as a daily is given below :

Manorama ..	..	1928
Mathrubhumi	..	1930
Kaumudi ..	..	1940

It now seems difficult to believe that Malayalam had no newspaper with a daily frequency till 1928, although it is a fact.

Newspapers have increased in number, circulation, and usefulness. The circulation statistics of any one paper will reflect the growing awareness of the public of Kerala as regards national and international events, as well as the progress of journalism.

Circulation Figures

	Manorama	*Mathrubhumi*	*The Hindu*
1927 ..	not available	1,200	not available
1937 ..	7,000	10,000	31,000
1947 ..	21,000	23,000	57,000
1957 ..	47,000	62,000	80,000
1967 ..	202,000	213,000	140,000

The choice of years shown above (1927, 1937, ...) does not indicate anything in particular, though some of the dates are important in Indian history. In 1927 the first Indian-owned news agency was established ; in 1937 the Congress Party entered the ministries in the Provinces ; in 1947 India became free ; and on the eve of 1957 linguistic states were established. Some of these changes may have contributed to the strengthening of journalistic efforts in Indian languages.

The circulation figures of *Manōrama* and *Mathrubhumi* are very revealing. First of all, the graph of the increase in circulation of both papers is very much the same. In forty years time *Mathrubhumi's* circulation has shot up from a mere 1,200 to well over two lakhs. Its circulation in 1947 was only 23,000. After Independence there has been a phenomenal increase in the circulation of Malayalam newspapers. The figures reveal a tenfold increase over twenty years. The circulation of English dailies does not show such a rapid rise, though it is true they had a better start. *The Hindu* has increased its circulation about 2½ times between 1947 and 1967.

Now, what are the causes which have contributed to the steep rise in circulation of the Malayalam dailies ? Firstly, increasing education, a widening interest in world affairs, and sharpened 'news consciousness' on the part of the readers. Secondly, greatly improved facilities for the production of newspapers, particularly by way of rotary press and photographic equipment, most of which is imported from the West. Thirdly, improved methods of getting news from all parts of the world through respectable and dependable news agencies, as well as the acceptance of modern techniques of editing, display of news, page make-up, etc. Another reason is the expansion of transport facilities. Despatch is so well organized and streamlined that within a few hours the papers reach their destination. Most of the work, inclusive of printing and despatch, is done in the night, so that readers, wherever they are, get their paper early in the morning. Despite the increased cost necessary to get speed and promptness, the industry is able to sell the papers at a cheap price, owing to the fact that substantial income is received by way of advertisements. In this regard the government, of late, has been deliberately encouraging the Indian-language newspapers by giving them their advertising. Population explosion in recent years

is also a contributory factor. All these factors have contributed to the expansion of the newspaper industry and the consequent boom in circulation figures. However, a good portion of the credit should legitimately go to Western machinery and Western techniques of journalism.

The Western Quantum

As a matter of fact, Western influence in Malayalam journalism can be seen (1) in our basic approach to the goals of journalism ; (2) in our selection of material, both news and views ; (3) in our manner and technique of putting it across ; and (4) in our ways of expression. These points require some elucidation.

(1) Leaders of journalism in the language during the last six or seven decades were inspired by Western liberalism. They realized that only a 'free press' can guarantee popular rights, and that, even when the press is a private industry, it is a public service. Our veterans in the field have tried to uphold the essence of the following capsule utterances of Western thinkers :

Thomas Jefferson :

> Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter.

John Milton :

> Give liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.

Harold Laski :

> A people without reliable news is, sooner or later, a people without the basis of freedom.

We have imbibed the critical spirit of the West, and newspapers have educated us to cultivate a healthy discontent, by fearlessly exposing defects in the polity. It is the Western thinkers who taught that democracy cannot exist without a free press. Some of the leaders of the Malayalam press have struggled and suffered to maintain this freedom.

(2) The function of the press is to disseminate public information and opinion in a systematic way. But the information and opinion coming from various parts of the world is so extensive that a paper is obliged to choose what it should give its readers. Every paper is limited in its space. A part of it is usually held for advertisements, and this apportionment is not difficult. But when

it comes to the selection of the news and views, the editorial staff has a difficult time. Each paper caters to a clientele which has its own special interests—local, communal, or political. Its members can be guided to some extent in their interests by the editorial policy. How have the papers in Malayalam faced the question of apportioning space for local, national, and foreign news? Has there been a definite policy for each paper and, if so, how has it been changing?

The Malayalam newspapers, with its history of over seventy-five years, has been coming into its own only recently. It commenced its career as a weak imitation of the Western newspaper, and in the second stage, which coincided with the Gandhian era, it gathered strength and independence. It has been developing a personality of its own only in the post-Independence period. This is perhaps true of other language presses in India too. In the first stage, foreign news was given great prominence—undue prominence, as we look at it now. This was because English newspapers were considered the models to be copied. In the second stage national news was given some importance, particualrly when the freedom movement received a great spurt under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, from 1920 onwards. The first Indian-owned, Indian-operated news agency (Free Press of India) was established in 1927, and this provided a further fillip to the dissemination of news. Until then it had been guided by the British government through Reuters and the Associated Press of India, which received government patronage.

Now what about the present state of affairs? The following chart showing the allocation of space for three Malayalam papers covers the period from October 9 to 15, 1967.[1]

Newspaper	News of Kerala	India	World	Features	Total, News & Features	Advertisements
Malayala Manorama	31.1%	5.7%	5.3%	15.4%	57.7%	42.3%
Mathrubhumi	27.8	8.6	4.8	12.7	54.2	45.8
Kerala Kaumudi	38.1	8.7	4.9	12.4	64.2	35.8
Average	32.3%	7.6%	5.0%	13.5%	58.7%	41.3%

[1] These figures have been provided by the *Malayala Manorama* office.

Of particular interest to us are the average figures, from which we note that local news gets two-thirds of the space allotted for news coverage. In an English-language newspaper like *The Hindu*, allocations are somewhat different.[1]

A large proportion of the educated people in Kerala read both an English newspaper and a Malayalam newspaper. That being so, the space allocation of the Malayalam papers can be justified. In any case, the papers evolve a policy of their own and do not blindly copy even the well-established Western press.

(3) There has been considerable influence of Western journalism on editing techniques of the Indian language newspapers. As pointed out earlier, the journalists who shaped the language journalism in India were mostly the product of Western education. The early English newspapers in India were run by Englishmen for the benefit of European residents in India. They were limited not only in scope but also in freedom of expression. After 1885 several great newspapers were born both in English and in the Indian languages. But the English newspapers had, in general, a better standard and commanded more respect and esteem. *The Times of India*, *The Pioneer*, *The Madras Mail*, *The Statesman*, and *The Hindu* are some of them. They have had distinguished editors conversant with the progress of journalism in Western countries. English-language papers in India as well as newspapers published in England and America had their impact on the language newspapers. As far as practicable, the language newspapers emulated the techniques of editing, sub-titling, featuring, lay-out, etc., of the English papers. Papers like *Mathrubhumi* and *Manorama* always kept an eye on the editorial techniques of the *London Times* and *New York Times*. The latter have guided them in the balancing of news and views and also in the safeguarding of the independence and intergity of the press. As far as production is concerned, it was hard for them to emulate the highly perfected Western techniques, owing to a lack of the latest equipment and a paucity of varieties of type face. In recent years, however, the Malayalam papers have progressed considerably in production techniques. Imported Western machinery has made this possible.

(4) The liberalism of the West, the ideas of freedom and independence of the press, the highly advanced technique of editing,

	Foreign News	*Indian News*	*Features*	*Advertisements*
1927	8%	35%	22%	35%
1967	8%	23%	14%	55%

the great amount of public information on a variety of subjects—all of this had to find expression through the medium of a comparatively less developed language, Malayalam. In the process of burdening a simple, relatively unsophisticated tongue with all this, the very texture of that tongue has undergone considerable change. Examples of what this slow but powerful change means have been given towards the beginning of this chapter. Thus, in technique and content, as well as in forms of expression, Westernism has made deep inroads into Malayalam journalism.

Tamil-Malayalam Area in the Lead

The progress of journalism is dependent to a great extent on the progress of printing techniques. It is the Western missionary who introduced printing to India. The first book printed in an Indian language was a Tamil version of *Doctrina Christiana*, printed in 1579. The Tamil in those days was called 'the Malabar language' by foreigners. Tamil and Malayalam were mixed up by foreigners in those days. The missionaries did a lot of work, educational and religious, in the Tamil-Malayalam area. Bengal was another region where they concentrated initially. Thus these two areas had the benefits of early Western influence.

Circulation figures form a sort of index of the influence which the press wields in various areas. Here below are the circulation figures of dailies and other periodicals for 1960 and 1965 as given by the Registrar of Newspapers.

Circulation (in thousands) 1960	1965	Language	Population by language in millions
4,147	5,627	English	..
3,583	3,971	Hindi	123
2,486	2,518	Tamil	31
1,130	1,597	Malayalam	17
1,202	1,460	Gujarati	20
1,071	1,439	Marathi	33
939	1,157	Bengali	34
1,055	970	Urdu	23
631	868	Telugu	38
449	609	Kannada	17
203	258	Punjabi	10
134	146	Oriya	16
52	111	Assamese	7

It also can be observed that there has been a large increase in regional-language readership, a moderate increase in English readership, a small increase in Hindi readership, and no increase in Urdu readership. English-language papers are read by speakers of various Indian languages and by the small minority who know only English. Thus, the English press is still a powerfull and effective medium, especially in wielding nation-wide and international influence. For although it is true that the language papers have become much more influential since Independence, their influence is regional. Considering the size of population, the maximum readership is in Tamil and Malayalam. Even as regards popular weeklies, the highest circulation in India is for the Tamil weekly, *Kumudam* (329,000); next comes the *Malayala Manorama* (233,000). This is indicative of the news consciousness and love for reading of the people of the Tamil-Malayalam region, which again reflects the early and abiding influence of Western education and the democratic sense it instilled. When you take news consciousness alone into consideration, Malayalam leads all other languages in India. This can be gathered from the following statistics for dailies given by the Registrar of Newspapers, as of December 31, 1965:

No. of Dailies	Language	Circulation (in thousands)
56	English	1,658
148	Hindi	875
40	Malayalam	691
28	Tamil	686
43	Marathi	627
32	Gujarati	486
8	Bengali	387
73	Urdu	322
37	Kannada	220
12	Telugu	207
4	Oriya	75
17	Punjabi	41
1	Assamese	7

The 17 million Malayalees buy almost as many daily newspapers as the 123 million Hindi speakers and more than the 31 million Tamilians or 34 million Bengalees.

Personalities and Ideologies

As pointed out earlier, journalistic experiments in Malayalam commenced as early as 1850. The beginning efforts were either missionary-oriented or with an emphasis on literature. By 1890 when *Malayala Manorama* entered the field under the editorship of Kandathil Varghese Mappila, the news of the world came into focus. The period till about 1910 should be considered as the first phase in journalism. In the second phase we find a number of personalities who were very conscious of the great responsibility of the press. This period coincides with our struggle for political independence. In the third stage there is a change-over from 'nation to party'. Kerala occupies a prominent place in political journalism.

The Pioneers

Among the poineers in the field of journalism in Malayalan the name that leads the rest is undoubtedly that of Kandatl Varghese Mappila (1858-1904) who at first edited *Kerala Mitra* but was not content till he started a paper of his own, *Malay Manorama*, in 1890. He was not only a superb organiser a capable administrator, but also a literary figure with long ra vision. Among his literary contributions we have referred to translation of *The Taming of the Shrew*. About him Ulloor s in his History of Literature, 'In the Malayalam region there never been a proprietor and editor of a newspaper as well kr and respected as Kandathil Varghese Mappila.'[1] He encou many a deserving writer of his times to contribute article *Manorama* and *Bhashaposhini* (a literary journal) which he e

Among other early pioneers, we should mention at lea here: Chenkulathu Valia Kunjirama Menon (1858-1936) was the editor of *Kerala Patrika*, and C. Krishan Pillai (185' who was editor of *Malayali*. These stalwarts had a good ledge of English and they were, to an appreciable extent,

[1] Ulloor, *Kērala Sāhitya Caritram*, Vol. IV, p. 474.

by the standards of Western journalism which itself was in a growing stage in those days. The main emphasis of these papers was to inform their readers of what was happening in the world.

The Crusaders

The function of the press is not only to inform but also to expose and criticise personalities and establishments which are responsible to the people at large. This was realised in the second phase of the evolution of the Malayalam press. There are quite a few editors who can be considered as crusaders in the noble cause of journalism. The earliest and dominating figure among them is K. Ramakrishna Pillai (1878-1916) who is better known as 'Swadesabhimani,' which is in fact the name of the paper which he edited from 1906-1910 and which made history in the Malayalam press. Ramakrishna Pillai wrote strongly and without fear, exposing the corrupt practices of the then government of Travancore which, as a result, decided to deport him from the State and lock up the printing establishment. This happened in September 1910. Of the several books he has written, the one which demands our special attention is *Vrttanta patrapravartanam*, a dissertation which elucidates the aims and methods of journalism and is one of the earliest books on the subject in any Indian language.

The storm and strain of the national movement found expression in the Indian-language press to an increasing extent. Newspapers were started, such as *Kaumudi* in 1911 and *Samadarsi* in 1918. Kerala was in a peculiar position as only Malabar was ruled directly by the British, Travancore and Cochin being native states. The national movement swept Malabar by storm when Gandhiji's leadership dominated the national scene. *Mathrubhumi* was started in 1923 to fight for national liberation. Its well-known editor K. P. Kesava Menon had to undergo privations and difficulties because of his frank criticism of the government policies. A little later agitation for responsible government started in Travancore; and Cochin also. The important Malayalam papers in those areas supported the cause. The Malayala Manorama Press was locked up by the Government of Travancore during the dewanship of C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, and its veteran editor K. C. Mammen Mappila was sentenced to imprisonment in 1939. In those days when press and platform

were explosive, several political leaders courted arrest, among whom were some outstanding journalists. They came to the field with a great passion and sense of devotion.

Another person whose pen was feared by the government was A. Balakrishna Pillai, whose services to literature we have touched upon earlier. He fought for the noblest ideals of journalism and wrote trenchant articles and devastating editorials first in *Samadarsi* and later in the weekly *Kesari* of which he was the founder and editor. The publication of *Kesari*, which was an important weekly discussing politics and literature, had to be discontinued because of a government ban, but Balakrishna Pillai took pride in styling himself 'Editor, *Kesari*' till his death. During this phase, the press was fighting for the liberation of the suppressed and oppressed people and for freedom of expression. The progressive journalists received the incentive to fight for these rights from the West. It should also be mentioned that the more enlightened British journalists who worked in India tried to maintain the highest ideals of journalistic tradition, despite courting thereby the displeasure of the British Government then in power.

Party Interests in Focus

In the third phase, regional journalism acquired more importance. After 1947 the national scene changed completely. This resulted in a re-orientation of the press in India. The English-language newspapers which had been mostly controlled by British interests changed hands. The realisation of self-government and adult suffrage suddenly invested the teeming millions in India with more responsibility, and naturally their languages became more important. This explains the great spurt in newspaper circulation in the regional languages. *Malayala Manorama* and *Mathrubhumi* have excelled some of the prestigious all-India English dailies, at least in circulation.

In tenor and texture our newspapers have changed considerably since Independence, in a shift from 'nation to party'. In some cases the change had commenced even before Independence. Papers do have some regional (and to a certain extent communal) interests to take care of, and this is understandable. But they are now fuctioning as mouth-pieces for one or another of the political parties, and local interests are kept within limits. A paper which has no political ideology cannot function these days. In the

earlier phases, political alignment was not so clear-cut. Well edited papers not only reflect public feeling and voice public opinions; they have a great capacity to mould public opinion. In Kerala, where political activity is more vigorous and complex than in other areas of India, the newspapers naturally reflect the trend. They serve as the watchdogs of true democracy and keep the public enlightened.

The Periodicals

So far, we have been speaking more about newspapers than about periodicals which cater to specialized interests. When periodicals were few, the newspaper served as an agency to cater not only news but also items of academic interest. But now there are a great number of specialized periodicals. Also, many important dailies have a week-end edition to give a varied fare. This is another Western tradition which we have copied.

In Malayalam there are several weeklies, monthlies, and quarterlies, the frequency depending upon the contents and the demand. As in English we have periodicals specially catering to women and children. There are others which specialize in humour, still others on films, and there is even a periodical solely for poetry. We have also digest monthlies. Then there are several weeklies and monthlies which provide a mixed fare. Several papers cater provocative cartoons and publish good pictures. For most of these, we have looked to the West for guidance and inspiration.

In Retrospect

Journalism in Malayalam has had a steady growth and is now flourishing as a private industry. In its growth and expansion as an important medium of mass communication, it has been indebted to the West—for its progressive ideology as regards the role of journalism, for streamlined methods of acquiring reliable news, for advanced techniques of editing and presenting news and views, and above all for the highly perfected and efficient production machinery. In its early phase, Malayalam borrowed from the West both the skill and the spirit; in the second phase coincid-

ing with the Gandhian era of the freedom movement, the spirit was Indian but the technique was largely Western ; and when we come to the modern phase, i.e., the post-Independence period, journalism has come into its own, though it still gets a lot of stimulation from the West. No one will doubt that journalism in the Indian languages has a future. Recently, even as an occupation, journalism has become prosperous. People with brilliant academic records are drawn to it today. A few years ago, only devotees could stay on in the profession. Kerala has produced some of the most distinguished journalists of the country both in English and in Malayalam. It may not be an exaggeration to say that among the Indian language presses, Malayalam is probably the most virile and sensitive, as it now happens to be the intellectual cockpit of warring Western ideologies.

CHAPTER XIV

OTHER PROSE WRITINGS

We have so far surveyed some of the important branches of Malayalam literature with an eye to the Western influence evinced by them. There are many other forms which remain to be reviewed, but space does not permit us to make a comprehensive survey. However, we shall briefly touch upon the more important among them, some of which, like the personal essay and biographical writing, bear the unmistakable imprint of the West. We shall discuss in this chapter the essay, informative writing particularly in the sciences and humanities, literary and linguistic research, biography and autobiography, the travelogue, and children's literature.

The Essay

Though it originated in French, the branch of literature called the essay has grown luxuriantly in English. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the essay is a composition of moderate length, usually in prose, which deals in an easy, cursory way with a subject and, in strictness, with that subject only as it affects the writer. The last clause in this definition brings in the personal element which is considered an important characteristic of the essay. However, even in English there are some well-known essayists, like Macaulay, for whom the essay ceases to be personal. Malayalam has been considerably influenced by the essay in English, of both the personal and impersonal types. The term *upanyāsam*, which is accepted as an equivalent of the essay, is loosely used to denote any composition of moderate length in prose, entertaining or instructive. The *upanyāsam*, or *prabandham* as it is sometimes called, has become so popular on account of the literary periodicals, that it is one of the richest branches of Malayalam literature. And all this mass of literature has been produced during the present century and mainly as a result of Western influence.

It is difficult to separate the personal essay and the impersonal essay in Malayalam, because both types will be found in the same

collection. We shall, however, try to concentrate on the *belles lettres* type initially and consider later the utilitarian or informative type.

Early Essayists

Gadyamālika, published in 1907, is one of the earliest collections of essays in Malayalam. The essays are by C. Achutha Menon, Rajaraja Varma, and Kunhikuttan Thampuran. Most of these were originally published in the periodical *Vidyāvinodini*. Under the same title, *Gadyamālika*, similar collections of articles followed.

Sixteen essays written by A. R. Rajaraja Varma are compiled in *Prabandhasangraham* which is also an early collection. They are model essays as far as presentation and style are concerned.

Other essayists of importance in the early decades of the century are Vengayil Kunjiraman Nayanar (nom de plume Kesari), Appan Thampuran, Moorkothu Kumaran, P. K. Narayana Pillai, and C. V. Kunjuraman. Among those who wrote on serious topics the names of R. Iswara Pillai, M. Rajaraja Varma, and K. R. Krishna Pillai should be mentioned. All these writers were English-educated and they were familiar with the works of Bacon, Lamb, Steele, and Addison.

The essay became quite popular in the language, and many writers enriched literature through this genre. However, the early output was mainly of the impersonal type. In the next generation, those who popularized the personal essay are quite a few. E. V. Krishna Pillai, Sanjayan (M. R. Nair), Kainikkara Kumara Pillai, Puthezhathu Rama Menon, E. M. Kovoor, and C. B. Kumar are some of the well-known names. The influence of the West on their style of writing is quite clear, though they wrote about local subjects. Charles Lamb, Lucas, G. K. Chesterton, and A. G. Gardiner have been popular with our essayists.

Some well-known essays of the West have been translated into Malayalam. Bacon's essays were translated by K. C. Mammen Mappila and published as early as 1918. So also Montaigne's essays, which were translated by P. Seshadri Iyer and published by the Travancore University.

Humorous writing

The tradition of the light essay soon evolved into sketches with an accent on humour. The foremost votaries of this kind of writing were E. V. Krishna Pillai (1895-1938) and M. R. Nair (1903-1942), who is better known as Sanjayan. E. V. Krishna Pillai looked at contemporary life through the eyes of a superb humorist. His articles, which appeared in various contemporary journals, were read with great interest in those days. Some of his best essays are collected in *ciriyum cintayum* (Laughter and Contemplation). Both E. V. Krishna Pillai and Sanjayan exposed the foibles of human nature, but Sanjayan was the more satirical and biting of the two. His writings are compiled in *Sanjayan*, Vols. 1-6. It is true that their writings are completely their own and that they dealt with contemporary life in Kerala. Yet it is also true that they have enjoyed the writings of Wodehouse, Jerome K. Jerome, and E. V. Lucas. Some of their essays reflect the art of these great humorists.

There are several other Malayalam writers who enriched the field of humorous writing. Some of the more outstanding who have been influenced by the West are Puthezhathu Rama Menon, E. M. Kovoor, N. P. Chellappan Nair, P. Sreedharan Pillai (Seetharaman), C. R. Kerala Varma (Vikraman), and P. K. Rajaraja Varma. There are others equally popular who have not been influenced in any apparent way by the West.

Even as regards those who reflect Western influence, the nature and intensity of that influence varies. Some show only a Western approach. Others take both matter and method from the West and soak what is borrowed in the new medium. Among the writers mentioned above, P. K. Rajaraja Varma shows Western influence to the highest degree. He has successfully transplanted several themes and stories from the West. So successful is he in his transplantations that readers who are not familiar with the Western counterparts will easily take them for genuine local plants. They fit in so nicely, as if in the natural habitat. He has written a good deal and written well. What he has done is not easy. Only a person with a highly developed sense of humour and a facility of expression in the language can succeed as he has.

P. K. Rajaraja Varma is considerably indebted to P. G. Wode-

house, Jerome K. Jerome, and Oscar Wilde, which he is happy to acknowledge. Here are some of his clear-cut adaptations :

Title of Book	*Title of Essay*	*Source*
Bharyamarku oru pātham.	Bharyamarku oru patham.	An Ideal Husband—Wilde.
,,	Visalattinte viśari ..	Lady Windermere's Fan—Wilde.
,,	Perile Karyam ..	The Importance of Being Earnest—Wilde.
,,	Pennennu parayunnatu Vennakkallu alla.	Love as a Doctor—Molière.
Kappalanti Communist.	Antaricca Ammavan.	Love is the Best Doctor—S. Houter.
,,	Tani Niram ..	Love is the Best Doctor
,,	Kappalanti Communist.	Arms and the Man—B. Shaw.

The two characters he has created—namely, Panchu Menon and Kunchiyamma—have become good friends of Malayalam readers and will live long in Malayalam literature. The four volumes of *Pancumēnonum Kunciyammayum* are very popular throughout Kerala. *Three Men in a Boat* by Jerome K. Jerome inspired him to write various portions of this series, as well as *Oru Viṅoda Yātra*. P. G. Wodehouse's writing has experienced a rebirth in many of Rajaraja Varma's writings. This is seen in *Gurutvakkedu*, *Kappalanti Communist*, and *Viṅodakathakal*, not to speak of *Kasantisamhāri* and *Śuppu Śuppu*. The skeleton of the story in *Kasantisamhāri* is taken from Wodehouse's *If I Were You*. Some situations in it also reflect *Summer Lightning*. In *Suppu Śuppu*, the character Supparaman is no other but Wodehouse's 'Jeeves' reborn in Kerala with a sacred thread and tufi.

What P. K. Rajaraja Varma tried is a kind of literary grafting, in which art he is a past master. He has shown that even in a difficult field like humour it is possible to cross-fertilize and thus enrich literature.

Informative Writing : The Sciences and Humanities

Science literature is a developing branch. It was Western education that brought modern science to our shores. The medium of instruction was English in all middle and secondary schools till the forties of this century, and English was found especially convenient for teaching the sciences which had grown in the West, each with its own specialized vocabulary. However, some writers thought it desirable to introduce the major scientific achievements of the West to people who had no direct access to English. The pioneers in the field of popular writing on scientific subjects are C. P. Achutha Menon, K. R. Krishna Pillai, M. Rajaraja Varma, O. M. Cheriyan, L. A. Ravi Varma, P. K. Koru, K. Sukumaran, and I. C. Chacko.[1]

The subject matter is completely Western. The writers study a subject with the help of some of the well-known books or monographs in English and then write on it in simple and direct Malayalam without burdening the reader with too many technicalities. *Pāṭchatya Śastra Siddhantam* (Theories of Western Science) by K. R. Krishna Pillai, for instance, is based on Tyndall's *Belfast Addresses*. M. Rajaraja Varma's writings on the various branches of modern science are quite well known. In his *Navīna Śastra Pīthika* Primer of Modern Science) he deals with nature study, biology and elementary psychology. O. M. Cheriyan's *Bhuvivaranasiddhantasangrahum* (1904) deals in a delightful style with the celestial bodies, atmosphere, rain, etc. M. Rajaraja Varma's *Arthanirupanam* deals with the fundamentals of economics. These are a few good examples of the early writing on science subjects.

Similar writings continued despite the difficulties of finding suitable technical equivalents in Malayalam. Among the modern writers on scientific subjects, Dr. K. Bhaskaran Nair leads the rest. His *Ādhunika Śāstram* (Modern Science, 1942), *Śastrattinte Gati* (The Progress of Science, 1946), *Parināmam* (Evolution, 1946), *Śastradīpika* (The Light of Science, 1950) and *Prakritipāthannal* (Lessons from Nature, 1950) seek to familiarize the Malayalam readers with facts of science. The treatment is lucid and attractive, as the author is not only a scientist but also a leading literary

[1] P. K. Parameswaran Nair, *History of Malayalam Literature*, p. 270.

craftsman. He acknowledges his indebtedness to the important works of Bertrand Russell, Aldous Huxley, H. G. Wells, Bernard Shaw, Arnold Toynbee, Oswald Spengler, and Joseph Needham.

Among those who have made substantial contributions to this branch of writing, M. C. Nambudiripad, M. Balarama Menon, Dr. S. Parameswaran, P. T. Bhaskara Panikkar, T. K. Joseph, P. K. Koru, and K. C. Chacko may be mentioned. Interest in science writing received an increased impetus recently with the formation of 'Sastra Sahitya Samiti,' an organisation to promote literature on the physical sciences. We shall give below the titles of some important books in the field.

Title		*Author*
Sciencinte Vikāsam ..	The Development of Science.	M. C. Nambudiripad.
Bhumiyude Atmakatha.	Autobiography of the Earth.	,,
Paramānu Caritram.	The Story of the Atom.	M. Balarama Menon
Vaidyutīvilāsam ..	The Development of Electricity.	T. K. Joseph.
Ākāsasanchāram ..	The Conquest of Air.	Mathew M. Kuzhiveli.
Adhunika Ganita Śāstram.	Modern Mathematical Science.	P. K. Koru.
Varaganita Pravesika.	Introduction to Calculus.	,,
Adhunika Jyōtisāstram.	Modern Astronomy.	S. Parameswaran.
Śastrasarani ..	The Field of Science.	,,
Lōkalōkam ..	Essays on Science ..	K.V. Sankaran Nair.
Sciencinte Sandesam.	The Message of Science.	P. T. Bhaskara Panikkar.
Sciencinte Sambhāvana.	The Contribution of Science.	,,
Sāstraparichayam ..	Making Science Familiar.	,,
Vidyucchakti ..	Electricity ..	K. C. Chacko.
Dampatya Śāstram ..	Science of Wedlock.	Helen Thomas.
Automobile ..	..	K. M. Mathai.
Krisiśāstram ..	The Science of Agriculture.	N. Kunjan Pillai.
Asuthranam ..	Planning ..	C. Narayanan.

A good number of books of an informative type on various branches of the humanities have been brought out in Malayalam during this century, particularly in the last thirty to forty years. They deal with social and behavioural sciences and other aspects of knowledge. A good majority of them show the influence of Western works on the same subjects. The selective list reproduced below will indicate the areas in which Western knowledge has been absorbed, areas which include psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics, political science, and certain other branches of learning such as philosophy and history.

Indian Penal Code, Aymanam P. John.

Sociology, 2 parts. P. Seshadri Iyer.

Bharatappazhama, Antiquity of India. A. Aiyappan.

Manuṣodayam (Anthropology), P. Balakrishna Pillai.

Sisuhridayam (Child Psychology), Mekkolla Parameswara Pillai.

Manassastram (Psychology), P. N. Moosad.

Pouranum Bharanaghatanayum (Citizen and Constitution, by M. Ruthnaswami), M. K. M. Nair, tr.

Bharanaghatanakal (Constitutions), M. Prabha.

Nammude Bharanaghatana (Our Constitution), K. Narendranath.

Rastravignannam (Politics), K. A. Damodara Menon.

Raṭṭravgnanīyam (Politics), V. C. Chacko.

Lōkālokam, 4 parts (History of the World), M. Rajaraja Varma.

Lokacaritram, 3 vols. (A History of the World), K. V. Gopala Menon.

Plato's *Republic*, K. V. Nanu, tr.

Rājaniti (The Prince, by Machiavelli), P. C. Devassia, tr.

Dhanasastratatvangal (Theories of Economics), K. Damodaran.

Nanaya Prasnam (Currency Problems), K. Damodaran.

Tozhilālikalum avarude Prashannalum (Workers and Their Problems), C. Narayanan.

Dhanatatwasastram (Economics), P. N. Moosad.

Nikutisastram (The Science of Taxation), T. C. Sankara Menon.

Sahakarana pravesika (An Introduction to Co-operation), Thuravoor R. Madhava Pai.

Soviet Nadu (Soviet Land), C. Achutha Menon.

Marxismthinu oru Mukhavura (An Introduction to Marxism), K. Damodaran.

Muthalālitvam (Capitalism), K. Damodaran.

Marxismthinte Tatvasāstram (The Philosophy of Marxism), K. Damodaran.

Communism, K. Damodaran.

Indiayude Atmāvu (An Interpretation of Indian History from the Marxian Point of View), K. Damodaran.

From the above list, however incomplete, it can be seen that the growth of literature in each branch of learning has not been similar. While in many branches the books are of an elementary nature, in a few there are books of an advanced character. For instance, the studies on communism and socialism and the socio-political approach to economics have progressed to a high level. The impact of the Marxist approach has been responsible for this comparative fertility in this branch of knowledge.

There are no full-fledged encyclopaedias in Malayalam. *Vignānam* is a modest attempt to make available, in the language, basic information on all important subjects which come within the range of an encyclopaedia. It can be best described as a pocket encyclopaedia. Mathew M. Kuzhiveli is the chief editor of the series. Of the proposed seven volumes, six have been published so far. World knowledge has been divided into fourteen broad categories for inclusion in the series.

Two other encyclopaedias are being organized now, one by the Kerala Government under the editorship of K. M. George and the other sponsored by the Writers' Co-operative Society, under the editorship of P. T. Bhaskara Panikkar. These attempts will be largely guided by the encyclopaedias available in English, though there may be an Indian emphasis on choice of subjects and allocation of space for them.

When we take into consideration the large mass of literature which has come into the important languages of Europe under the common heading of 'informative writing,' what has been published in Malayalam is only a trickle, a mere beginning. However, a beginning has been made in the various branches of human knowledge and that is important. As the medium of instruction on the university level has been English so far, Malayalam has played only a subsidiary role in disseminating knowledge. In the prospect of a change-over in medium, inclusive of the university level, a need to equip Malayalam literature with knowledge of all

arts and sciences has been felt already. Necessity is the mother of expansion and progress also. Accordingly, the literature of information is bound to have a very fast growth in the near future, something in the dimension of an escalation or explosion. For this expansion, Malayalam is bound to take the help of books available in the Western languages, particularly English.

Literary and Linguistic Research

History of literature

Except for certain commentaries and explanatory notes on classical works which have research value, research as such was unknown to the writers of the language. When P. Govinda Pillai decided to bring out a history of Malayalam literature (*Malayāla Bhasā Caritram*, 1881) and started collecting materials from various sources, he became the pioneer of literary research in Malayalam. He collected a good deal of information on writers and books in the language, sorted it out, and arranged it chronologically to the best of his ability. His literary assessments may not be high class and his chronology may be faulty in places, but he had to face all kinds of difficulties as a pioneer. He was familiar with histories of English literature and wanted to do something similar for his language. All the historians after him have made use of his findings.

The next attempt in the field was by the well-known professor of English, P. Sankaran Nambiyar. His *Malayāla Sāhitya Caritra Sangraham* (1922), though brief in compass, highlights the outstanding contributions of the literature. The literary assessment here is far superior to that of his predecessor. As one who had appreciated and assimilated the well-written histories of English literature, Sankaran Nambiyar demonstrated that a literary history could be written in an entertaining manner, as a literary piece in itself. He did not go deeply into questions of dates or authorship.

Though there are several histories of literature in the language today, two of them stand out as the most comprehensive and scholarly. The first is the seven-volume history, *Keralabhāsā sāhitya caritram*, by R. Narayana Panikkar, and the second, the five-volume history, *Kerala Sāhitya Caritram*, by Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer. The first volume of Panikkar's work was published in 1927 and the final volume in 1951. The first volume of Ulloor's

history was published in 1953, and the series was completed in 1957.

Panikkar was considerably influenced by similar works on English literature. Even his division of Malayalam literature into three periods is reminiscent of Grimm and other authorities on English literature. The series starts with a long discussion on the nature of literature. For this he is considerably dependent on W. H. Hudson. Though Panikkar does not always uphold the objective stand of the historian, credit must be given him for the substantial collection of fresh materials and the discussion of intricate questions of authorship and dates of old classics.

The most outstanding history of Malayalam literature is the one written by Ulloor. Even before venturing on this work, Ulloor has had much experience of research in the language and literature, as evidenced by his articles compiled in the several volumes of *Vignanadipika*. His study and collection of materials was carried out over several decades. The wealth of materials collected, the careful interpretation of difficult texts, and the dispassionate assessment of literary pieces make the history a great work which no student can afford to ignore. Ulloor no doubt appreciated the methodology of the well-known historians of English literature and, as a master craftsman of prose and poetry, his assessments have an added significance. However, it would have been much more useful for researchers, if he had indicated the sources.

Another history of literature which was written after considerable research is *Kerala Sahityavum Christianikalum* by Dr. P. J. Thomas. As one trained in England though in a different field (Economics), Thomas was well acquainted with the research methods of the West, and his history amply reflects his flair for well-documented research even in the field of literature.

P. K. Parameswaran Nair's *Adhunika Malayala Sāhityam* which deals with Malayalam literature from the times of Ezhuthachan upto the times of Kerala Varma was published in 1954. The special feature of this compact history of literature is the evaluation of literary trends in the context of social circumstances of the times. There is clear influence of the method followed by Ivor Evans in his History of English Literature and by Lytten Strachey in his Short Survey of French Literature. Still another history is T. M. Chummar's *Padyasāhitya Caritram*, a survey of poetic works noted for its fair assessment. His *Gadyasāhitya Caritram* (1955),

a comprehensive account of prose works in Malayalam, gives evidence of patient industry and unprejudiced evaluation.

Among all the histories of literature, one outshines the others in the matter of adopting Western techniques. In *Sahityacaritram Prasthanannalilude* organised by the general editor K. M. George, each section has been written by a scholar who is a specialist in his field. The special quality of a research publication in the West is that it will greatly help further research in the field. Researchers realise that work on any subject is never exhaustive and rarely final, and hence they want to assist future workers. They achieve this by giving clearly all sources of information, either in the body of the book or in footnotes, when that is justified, Moreover, a good bibliography and carefully prepared index is a must for such publications. Even our scholarly publications by and large fail to indicate the sources. Traditional scholarship did not believe in citing references and mentioning the names of originators of opinions, and this has been a great handicap to further research. Of course, in some of the recent publications we notice a change for the better, and this is on account of the influence of research publications of the West. In this regard, *Sahityacaritram Prasthanannalilude* is a good model.

Linguistic and cultural research

We have already referred to the researches done by Gundert and Rajaraja Varma in the field of grammar and philology. Along with Rajaraja Varma, and a little later, Attoor Krishna Pisharody has done some valuable work. He was a great scholar of the traditional type.

There are three or four institutions which have encouraged linguistic and literary research in Kerala. At Trivandrum the well-known Manuscripts Library, which has passed through several phases administratively and academically, has been the nucleus of research work of some description or other during the last six or seven decades. Of late it has evolved as the Department of Oriental Research of the Kerala University. To commence with, important classical works were edited and published here. The editors were reputed scholars of the traditional type. When the Library was directed by Dr. P. K. Narayana Pillai and Suranad Kunjan Pillai, a mild breeze of Western research blew through the old palm leaves kept there, and this is evidenced by a few publications. In the

new set-up under the directorship of Dr. K. Raghavan Pillai, the institution holds out hopes of evolving as a research center on Western lines. The Cochi Bhasha Parishkarana Committee and the Rama Varma Research Institute, Trichur, encouraged researches on classical works in the language. This was also largely in the traditional pattern. In 1927 when the Madras University set up the Department of Oriental Languages, Malayalam was also included as a language in which research was to be promoted. This institution, comparatively speaking, has fared better in promoting research on the language and culture of Kerala, first under the headship of Dr. Chelnattu Achutha Menon and then under that of Dr. S. K. Nayar, his successor in office.

When one thinks of the Western pattern of research carried out in Malayalam by native scholars, two names come up in bold relief : Dr. K. Godavarma and Dr. Chelnattu Achutha Menon. Both had their research training in London in the School of Oriental and African Studies. Dr. Godavarma worked under Professor L. Turner in the field of linguistics and was awarded the Ph.D. degree for his thesis, 'Indo-Aryan Loan Words in Malayalam'. Dr. Achutha Menon was guided by Dr. L. D. Barnett in his researches on 'Ezhuthachan and His Age,' which won for him the Ph.D. degree. When these two scholars returned to India in the thirties they had high hopes of what they could do to usher in a new era of research on the Western model.

Godavarma was completely frustrated, as he did not receive any encouragement either from the Travancore Education Department (of which he was a lecturer) or from the Travancore University. Neither this university nor its successor, the Kerala University, considered it necessary to encourage researches in the field of its own language and culture by setting up a department till 1963. Despite this woeful neglect on the part of the University and the government, Godavarma had been able to carry on some research in his private capacity, as revealed by his dissertation *Keralabhāṣa Vignāniyam* and certain papers of research value included in his various collections of essays.

The fate of Achutha Menon was somewhat different. The Madras University gave some kind of encouragement, though limited in scope, and Achutha Menon was able to carry out some researches in the sphere of literature and culture. His works on the Ballads of North Malabar and the *Kali* cult of Kerala deserve

special mention. Similar researches have been carried on by Dr. S. K. Nayar and his colleague, Dr. K. N. Ezhuthachan, in the last two decades. *Folk Dramas of Kerala* by Dr. S. K. Nayar and *Bhasakautaliyam* by K. N. Ezhuthachan are the results of researches done on Western models. This department of the Madras University has guided many researchers who have done valuable work and earned degrees. Among them may be mentioned Miss Bhadramma, N. V. Krishna Warier, K. V. Nambudiripad, Miss Kalawati, V. Appukutta Menon and K. Prabhakara Varier.

Rama Varma Research Institute at Trichur has published some valuable dissertations, especially the researches in linguistics of L. V. Ramaswamy Iyer. The publications are largely modelled on Western techniques of research.

As mentioned earlier, the University of Kerala has set up a department of Malayalam in 1963 to conduct research in Malayalam language and literature. Under the active guidance of Dr. P. K. Narayana Pillai, who heads the department, work has started in right earnest and some results have already come out. Dr. Pillai has completed the stupendous work of preparing a critical edition of the old classic *Ramakathapattu*[1] with an exhaustive commentary and comprehensive introduction. Western stamp is quite clear in the work of this department.

Apart from the above, there are just a few scholars who have carried out independent research and have won recognition. Among them are Ilamkulam Kunjan Pillai, A. C. Sekhar, K. Kunchunny Raja, K. M. George, Vellayani Arjunan, and O. M. Anujan. All of them have followed the Western methods of research, whatever the field—linguistic, literary, or cultural.

Biography and Autobiography

Comparatively speaking, biographical literature is a recent branch in Malayalam. Out of the three hundred biographies available in the language, a great majority have been written in the last fifty years, and the West has exerted much influence on this branch of literature. The first biographical writing in Malayalam

[1] Though *Rāmakathappattu* was known to the world of scholars for quite sometime, the classic in full was discovered only in 1963.

happens to be a translation of sketches from Manders Collections, and this is how it happened. Prince Visakham Thirunal of Travancore royalty translated biographical accounts of such personalities as Alexander, Aristotle, Archimedes, Alfred, and Bacon and passed on the manuscript to Kerala Varma in 1880, with the suggestion that more such accounts might be translated and published for the benefit of students. Kerala Varma continued the effort, and these sketches were first published in the monthly *Vidyavinodini*. By 1895, as many as 107 such short accounts had been published in book form. This created a taste for biography. However, many original biographies did not appear in the language till about 1914. A biography of Dewan T. Madhava Rayar (1893) and another of the enterprising businessman Devaji Bhimji are two among the half dozen which came to be written before 1914.

The existing biographies in the language fall into three categories. The first is the short life sketch specially written for students. Several such sketches on the lives of great men of the world have appeared in Malayalam. The second category comprises the second-hand biographies, namely, translations or adaptations of biographies in other languages, especially English. There are excellent books on Maxim Gorky, Milton, Tolstoy, Iqbal, Edison, Darwin, Lenin, Gandhi, Nehru, Aravinda, and Vivekananda. Most of these are based on well-known works in English. The third category is the original full-length biography written by a Malayalam author. In this case the subject matter is completely indigenous, but even here Western influence is patent in a majority of books as regards the technique of revealing and highlighting the personality of the chosen subject.

'*Men of Letters*' *series*

What was popularly known as the 'Men of Letters' series in English first caught the imagination of our writers. Most of our great men were either literary figures or religious leaders ; we had no scientists or statesmen. The first attempt was to introduce the great literary figures, and the 'Men of Letters' series was a handy model to copy. The well-known publisher of Malayalam books, Thomas Paul, planned a series entitled *Keralabhashāpranayikal* (Lovers of Kerala language) and good prose writers in the language were entrusted with the task of writing biographical accounts of

men of letters in Malayalam. The following are the books in the series :

Kunjikuttan Thampuran, by Koyippillil Parameswara Kurup.
Otuvil Kunjukrishna Menon, by A. D. Harisarma.
V. C. Balakrishna Panikkar, by Kunnathu Janardana Menon.
O. Chandu Menon, by Moorkothu Kumaran.
Pantalathu Kerala Varma, by A. D. Harisarma.
Kumaran Asan, by Kunnathu Janardana Menon.
Unnāyi Variyar, by T. K. Raman Menon.
Vengayil Kunjiraman Nayanar, by Moorkothu Kumaran.

The authors were requested to follow the general pattern of the English 'Men of Letters' series and they did so, combining biographical material with literary assessment. Even the few authors who were not familiar with the English series successfully emulated the pattern with the help of others who were conversant with it. Thomas Paul also brought out shorter biographical accounts of twenty-two other distinguished authors in Malayalam, published in six volumes under the general title *Sāhityapranayikal* (Lovers of Literature).

There are other independent attempts at composing biographies which fall under the 'Men of Letters' category. Some of the better known are :

K. C. Kesava Pilla, by A. D. Harisarma.
Rantu Sāhityanāyakanmār, by A. D. Harisarma (dealing with Kerala Varma and Rajaraja Varma).
Kandathil Varghese Mappila, by A. D. Harisarma.
Chāttukutty Mannadiar, by T. K. Raman Menon.
Kerala Panini (A. R. Rajaraja Varma), by P. Anantan Pilla.

Full-fledged biographies

Most of the full-fledged biographies in the language have been written in the last forty years, and the biographers are, by and large, people who have read and enjoyed the great biographies in English. Some of them, like P. K. Parameswaran Nair and N. Balakrishnan Nair, have evidently assimilated the Western technique of the literary form by reading critical writings. Parameswaran Nair has given to Malayalam, biographies of Voltaire, Napoleon, and Gandhi; but what ensures his name in the field are the two biographies of C. V. Raman Pillai and P. K. Narayana Pillai (*Sahitya Pancānanan*).

Considerable research enabled him to write these comprehensive biographies. Balakrishnan Nair has written seven biographies of the great men of Kerala. Of these *Sākṣāl C. V.*, *Rājarāja Varma*, *Swarājyabhimāni* and *Sri Swātitirunāl* are the more important. He has been able to dive into biographical materials and get a good glimpse of the personality of his subject. In his approach, he is considerably indebted to the technique developed in Europe.

There are quite a few good biographies which reflect the Western technique. As a matter of fact, the more important ones are written by those who made a study of the Western trend in the art of writing biography.

Mar Louis Pazheparambil (1937), by I. C. Chacko.
Śaktan Tampurān (1941), by Puthezhath Rama Menon.
Cannanāsseri (1942), by C. Narayana Pilla.
Sādhu Kochoonju (1947), by K. M. George.
Swadesabhimāni (1956), by K. Bhaskara Pilla.
Sakhāvu, E. M. S. (1956), by M. A. George.
Vallathol (1962), by V. Unnikrishnan Nair.
A. R. Rajaraja Varma (1953-63), 3 vols., by M. Bhagirathi Amma and M. Raghava Varma Raja.
Kumāran Āsan (1963), by K. Surendran.

Autobiography

Biography is writing about people in the third person. When authors write in the first person, we get either autobiographies or memoirs. In memoirs, the quantum of reference to other personalities will be more, as compared to autobiographies. Malayalam had practically no memoirs or auto-biographies till we come to 1911, when we have a short memoir from the pen of K. Ramakrishna Pilla, who writes about his exile in *Eṅte Natukatattal*. This is soon followed by *Vyālavatta smaranakal* (Memoirs of Twelve Years, 1916) by B. Kalyani Amma, wife of Ramakrishna Pillai, who writes about her husband. This is a rare combination of memoir and biography, a most movingly written story. In the thirties and forties, we have a number of memoirs from people like C. I. Raman Nair, E. M. Kovoor, K. Sadasivan, Ulloor, Chelanat Achuta Menon, and I. C. Chacko. All these are English-educated writers. We have also writers like C. B. Kumar, who has written a good number of memoirs and sketches. The influence of James Agate

and Andre Gide can be discerned in his memoirs, *Andolanamnal* (The Swing).

The autobiographies proper are not many and the few that we have were written in the last thirty years. *Smaranamandalam* (1938) by P. K. Narayana Pillai is a delightfully written account of the early life of the author. *Jivita smaranakal* (Memories of Life, 1941) by E. V. Krishna Pilla is an autobiography of absorbing interest, the author being one of the outstanding humorists and essayists in the language. Then we have the *Atmakatha* (Autobiography, 1953) by K. M. Panikkar; *Jivitasamaram* (Battle of Life, I & II, 1954-55) by C. Kesavan, one of the leaders of the movement for responsible government in Travancore; *Kaliñja Kalam* (Time Past, 1958) by K. P. Kesava Menon, a Sahitya Akademi Award winner; *Etirppu* (Encounter, I, II & III, 1959-60) by Kesava Dev, which though autobiographical is written in the third person, and *Kolinña Ilakal* (Fallen Leaves, 1960) by Prof. Joseph Mundassery, educationist and critic. All these autobiographies are eminently readable as they are written by seasoned writers in the language. And without exception all of them have been inspired by some of the best-known and best-written memoirs and autobiographies in English. The present writer has published a critical survey of biographies and autobiographies in the language, *Jiva Caritra Sahityam*.[1]

Pen pictures

Since the thirties of the century, Malayalam periodicals have offered a rich fare in pen pictures which are called *Tulikacitram*. Some of them have been compiled in book form. There are interesting portrayals of leaders in politics and literature. The subject matter is entirely local, but the art of writing pen pictures shows the influence of similar work in English. E. V. Krishna Pillai, P. Damodaran Pillai, V. V. Menon and Vakkom Abdul Khadar have produced very good pen pictures.

Travelogues

The desire to know about areas other than one's own is common to all human beings. Books on history and geography as well as newspapers provide us with a lot of information. But the craze

[1] Vide Chapter XII.

to travel and see for oneself is not mitigated by reading such accounts. A way of life is best understood by direct observation, but travelling is a difficult and expensive business, and few can afford it. The next alternative is to read travel accounts written by people who have had such opportunities. Even among the few who have had the privilege of travelling and visiting other places, only a small percentage are writers. And of the writers, only a few have the gift to observe interesting facets of life and narrate in a fascinating manner. Well-written travelogues have always been popular. However, because of the above limitations, there have not been many travel accounts in Malayalam. With the solitary exception of *Varttamānapustakam* by Paramakkal Thoma Kathanar (about which mention was made in Chapter II), written in 1786, all that we have were written in this century, to be specific after 1912. Before 1912 and after 1786, quite a few Malayalees travelled outside their province and even outside India, but no travel accounts came to be written.

Now, Thoma Kathanar and Ouseph Malpan undertook their long and hazardous journey not for sightseeing or educational purposes. They represented a community of Christians in Kerala and were sent to have an audience with the Pope to discuss certain problems directly. So the author knew that the long report of their experiences, their trials, tribulations, and successes would interest his community. And this report turned out to be an exciting travelogue. It is difficult to say how much the manner of writing was influenced by the West. All that can be said is that the prose style shows appreciable influence of the West.

Coming to the travelogues in Malayalam written in the twentieth century, a majority of them are written about travels in the Western hemisphere. The writers of such are English-educated, and they have been to a certain extent influenced by Western ideas of life. However, it cannot be generalized and said that they have all copied the Western technique of travelogue writing. There are just a few who do follow well-known authors like John Gunther and Beverly Nichols.

The travel diaries written in Malayalam based on visits to Western countries have an added significance in our discussion, apart from the style of writing which is influenced by English to a degree. The Western way of life and culture are described effectively in these diaries and travelogues, and they appreciably

influenced our pattern of life. Writers were appreciative of the Western values of life, though they have not fought shy of making critical comments when matters justified such observations.

We shall refer to a few works which have made a deep impression on the readers. The first book which should be mentioned is *Bilāttivisesam* (1914) by K. P. Kesava Menon. The title only means 'News of England.' In this book you get a picture of Europe before and during the First World War. Some of the other travel accounts relating to the West are noted below :

Ente Bhupradaksina Vrittantam (1938), N. J. Nair.
This deals more specifically with trade and industry in Europe and America.
Āpalkkaramaya Yatra (A Dangerous Journey, 1939), K. M. Panikkar.
Nan Kanta America (The America I saw), Eralil Varghese.
Soviet Diary (2 parts, 1958), S. K. Pottekkad.
Innatte Europe (Europe of Today, 1955), S. K. Pottekkad.
Londonil—Chila Kathukalum Smaranakalum (1963), C. B. Kumar.
Āndolanannal, (The Swing, 1958), C. B. Kumar.
This deals with travels in Europe and America.
Russiayil—(In Russia) Annie Thayyil.
London Diary (1959), K. Gouri Amma
Putumayude Lokam, (New World—America, 1956), K. Bhaskaran Nair
Londonil (1956), K. K. Raja.
Ente London Jivitam (1956), K. Raghavan Pillai.
Soviet Nattil Munnalca (Three Weeks in Soviet Land, 1964), K. M. George.
Americayiloode (1961), N. V. Krishna Warier.
Amerikkayil poya Katha (The Story of a Visit to America, 1967), K. M. George.

S. K. Pottekkad is one of our most prolific and entertaining travelogue writers. He has a rare gift of painting with words. K. C. Peter has written a few travel accounts including *Appuratte America* (America of the Other Side). As a professor of history, his perspective is historical and political. Malayalam has also received in translation the well known works of K. P. S. Menon, *The*

Russian Panorama and *Many Worlds.* They have given a new insight into the political and cultural life of the various peoples of the West.

Letters

The travel accounts that are available in Malayalam can be grouped under the headings of diaries, letters, and travelogues proper. We have already referred to the diaries and travelogues. Letters as a form of literature came into Malayalam only recently. Dr. C. B. Kumar, who has been in the West for over three decades, has contributed interesting memoirs, sketches, and letters. He has had many opportunities of directly studying the West and its culture. He seems to be the first person to introduce the 'letter' form in Malayalam. What was published as *Letters from London* were actually letters written in 1935 to his niece. Life in London with its variety and charm is beautifully pictured in these letters. This form has the special advantage of emphasizing the personal element. Dr. Kumar acknowledges his indebtedness to Western authors for this form of writing (vide the introduction to *Londonil*).

There are others who have successfully made use of the same medium. Most of them have travelled in the West. Dr. Srikrishna Sarma's *German Kattukal* (1957) came out first in the *Mathrubumi* weekly. Dr. M. V. Pailey's *Videsannalil Ninnum Kure Kattukal* (Some Letters from Foreign Countries) are letters of literary and general interest. *Usaykkulla Katthu* by Dr C. R. Krishna Pillai is also a book of this type which merits our attention.

Children's Literature

When we say that there was no literature for children in Malayalam before 1947, it does not mean that there were no primers and readers in the language suitable for children. If a book is simply printed in big type and if there are some pictures, it does not thereby fall into the category of children's literature. Writing for children requires special talents. Every good writer is not necessarily a good writer for children.

The first conscious effort for the production of children's books in Malayalam was made by Mathew M. Kuzhiveli in 1948.[3] He has had long experience as a teacher and as one who trains

[3] K. M. George, *A Survey of Malayalam Literature*, p. 212.

teachers. He started in a small way with a weekly newspaper for children, *Balan*. As his model for the venture, he had Arthur Mee's *Children's Newspaper*, published from London. But Malayalam was not English. The periodical came to a stop after six months, but Kuzhiveli's enthusiasm did not decline. He launched a scheme of publishing thirty books, arranged in four grades. He was not only a good writer for children but also an enterprising publisher. He himself wrote twenty of the thirty books and set up a firm, Balan Publications, solely for the production and propagation of children's books. In the course of two decades, Balan Publications have brought out over 250 books. Kuzhiveli was not only responsible for this scheme and plan, but he himself also wrote over fifty books. He made a special study of writings for children in the English language, studied the development of the child mind, and planned the series in Malayalam. Some of the titles alone are enough to indicate Kuzhiveli's indebtedness to the West in this matter.

Of late certain other publishers are also showing interest in bringing out books for children. The Writers' Cooperative Society, with headquarters at Kottayam, has brought out about fifty books. They have shown special attention to the production aspect and have included good illustrations to make the books brighter. In this regard also, the influnce of the West is not negligible.

PART IV

THE CULTURAL ASPECT

Chapter XV

LIFE AND LETTERS

In the foregoing chapters we have tried to ascertain the nature of Western influence on the language and literature of Kerala. The Western strands in the fabric of Malayalam literature are quite identifiable, as they are in other regional literatures. The contacts with the West have been greatly beneficial to the many-sided development of Indian literature, particularly in the last one hundred years. We are interested in assessing the impact of the West not only on our literature, but also on life in general. Life and letters are inextricably bound to each other, and a discussion of the one would be incomplete without a consideration of the other.

What is literature, if it is not the essence of life distilled in words ! To Matthew Arnold, the end and aim of all literature is nothing but a criticism of life. And by 'criticism of life' he means 'something that illumines and inspires us in the highest degree for the business of living.' Modern critics and philosophers have only further emphasized the relationship between literature and life. Literature increases our knowledge of human nature and of human life ; it deals with human experiences. Despite its oftentimes flowery and fanciful appearance, literature is rooted in reality and seeks to give a total image of life.

If it is true that literature is born of life and reflects life, it is also true that literature in turn influences life. It influences the style of life and infuses certain ideals and attitudes towards life. We have, so far, been looking at literary productions with an eye to form and theme. We should now take another look at them with an eye to the important aspects of life they have touched. As a preface to this discussion, let us have a resume of the Western impact on literature pure and simple.

Western Influence on Literature—A Resume

The language and literature of Kerala has been exposed to the influence of European literature and ways of thought for over three centuries. Initially this influence was slight and superficial,

but later on it became more significant and marked. The influence of the Portuguese and Dutch on the life and letters of the people of Kerala was not very significant, as explained earlier. But the British contact had a great impact on various aspects of Indian life and culture. Kerala, as we have seen, has been considerably influenced by the English, their literature, and their ways of life.

The influence of the West is so marked in modern Malayalam literature that it is clear even to a casual observer. Even though the influence on the language is not so deep-set, it is also recognizable, especially to the student of linguistics. Not only has Malayalam been influenced in its morphology and syntax by contact with English, but also in its sound system, though to a lesser degree. Its capacity for expression has been greatly enhanced by borrowing a large number of words and a considerable assortment of phrases and idioms from English. (vide Chapter II) The West has also been responsible for the embarking on a systematic and scientific study of the structure of the Malayalam language as well as the compilation of a number of dictionaries. In fact, most of the reference books for language study are done either directly by Western scholars or by Kerala scholars with good training in Western techniques.

The influence which the West brought to bear on Malayalam literature was reviewed chronologically in three stages, the last stage after 1880 being the dominant one where we witness the real break-through. The great renaissance thus commenced, passed through a middle phase of socialist realism (1930-47), and finally entered the free age. We have also tried to assess in some detail the extent of Western influence on the major literary genres such as the novel, the short story, poetry, drama, literary criticism, and certain important branches of prose writing. It has, of course, been a difficult search, for the influence manifests itself in various ways, some of which are quite elusive. It is perhaps most obvious in translation and adaptation, less so in other kinds of imitation where foreign elements merge imperceptibly with the indigenous, and most elusive when it acts only as a catalyst. What is undeniable is the great ferment which Western literature has produced in our literature. 'A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.' The idea of leavening which leads to fermentation is quite an appropriate metaphor in this context. The leaven does not change the

element of the dough ; it only activates it and makes it more supple. In the same manner, Western literature has acted as a great leavening agency on Malayalam literature. This aspect is more important (though less palpable) than the borrowing by way of translation and adaptation. How difficult it is to convince anyone that Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*, which Kumaran Asan so fondly cherished, was really the golden key which opened the doors of Malayalam to the romantic lyric ! Asan's great poems were not translations or adaptations of English poems, but he got the leaven from English poetry and the ferment spread from his poems further into the whole realm of Malayalam poetry.

What was the position of regional literatures in India before they were touched to the quick by English literature? We may say that it was in a state of intellectual drowsiness. This reminds one of the striking words used by L.S.S. O'Malley who said, ' Just as Western Europe woke from the lethargy of the middle ages and turned to the literature of Greece and Rome for models of thought and style, India was roused from its intellectual coma by contact with the West and turned to Western literature, science and philosophy for cultural inspiration. Sanskrit works were no longer the sole fountains of truth and models of composition.'[1]

There is a great deal of truth in his observation, though his use of the term ' intellectual coma ' makes it an over statement. A great renaissance was experienced in all aspects of literature. Professor V. K. Gokak's observation on the Kannada literary awakening is equally true of Malayalam and most other Indian languages. ' English literature was not merely a new planet that swum into the ken of Kannada writers. It was a whole firmament. The novel, the short story, tragedy, biography, autobiography, diary, epistle, the lyric and the essay—these and other literary forms with their enchanting subdivisions, opened to them an infinity of wealth which dazzled their eyes.'[2]

This all-pervasive awakening touched poetry and prose somewhat differently. We already had a poetic tradition and substantial literature in it, whereas prose was in the toddling stage. Briefly stated, *the West revitalized our poetry and revealed the potentiality of prose*. The traditional, rigidly structured and *alankāra-*

[1] O'Malley, ed., *Modern India and the West*, p. 764.
[2] Gokak, V. K., *Literatures in Modern Indian Languages*, p. 197.

bedecked poetry gave place to poetry of deep experience and refined emotion. The west was responsible for our adding a new dimension to our poetry. A hundred years ago prose literature in Malayalam was scanty : a few books on religion and philosophy, some commentaries on dance-dramas, and a long travel account. But now we have several thousands of prose works, comprising all branches and categories of literary writing. There are hundreds of original works, translations, and adaptations. Western literature (particularly that belonging to English, Russian, French, and German) has been directly and indirectly responsible for a large number of these prose works. We have been influenced by the West not only in theme and form, in style and approach, but also in matter and spirit. We gained a new orientation in our literature on account of our contact with Western writers. In the context of expanding education and widened interest in the literature of knowledge, our literature has had a phenomenal growth in the last one hundred years.

From Letters to Life

We have made chronological and generic surveys of Malayalam literature with an accent on the Western element in it. In these surveys our focus of attention was literary form and quality rather than thought content and philosophy of life. From 'letters' we may now turn to 'life'—the various aspects of life which have assimilated Western ideas and culture. It is beyond all doubt that our religious beliefs, social awareness, and political ideologies, our domestic life and our culture in general, have been influenced by the West.

> The Western presence in India was more intense and extensive than in any other part of Asia, for in the course of the nineteenth century, India acquired many of the trappings of the contemporary West—an educational system cast in British moulds, the famed Indian Civil Service, modern law codes, armies, police, economic enterprises, and communications.[2]

A good percentage of this influence has come directly by way of education and contact with Westerners, and an equally signi-

[2] McNeill, W. H., *The Rise of the West*, p. 776.

ficant part indirectly through literature. Education and literature have complementary roles to perform. The aspects of life and culture influenced through literature are particularly relevant to our discussion.

The Western type of education was introduced in India with mixed motives. Macaulay wanted to create a special class who were to be interpreters between the British and the Indians, 'a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.' This the British were able to achieve in a large measure. But while doing so, they also created a community which questioned the foreign domination on the very basis of their own ideals of 'liberty, equality, and fraternity' and in their own language, English. The British united India through the English language, which became an effective common medium of communication for the educated in every part of India. According to Jawaharlal Nehru, 'English education brought a widening of Indian horizons, an admiration for English literature and institutions, a revolt against some customs and aspects of Indian life and a growing demand for political life.'[4] The British rule also served to place a high premium on Western approaches and attitudes in comparison with the Indian.

The impact of the West was felt more or less uniformly in every region, whether British rule was administered directly or indirectly through princes, as in the case of the native states. Urban areas, in comparison with the rural, were, no doubt, more exposed to Western influences. As far as the British influence was concerned, Kerala was like any other region, except for Bengal where the impact was earlier and stronger as Calcutta happened to be the Imperial Capital in the early days. Kerala had a longer and more intimate connection with Western Christian missionaries, commencing with the Portuguese, and this explains its high literacy percentage. And it appears that the people of Kerala are a little more receptive to foreign ideas than are the people in other areas. This is substantiated in literary matters also, as can be seen in their quick incorporation of socialist realism and the evolution of the press into a vigorous, explosive agency of mass communication. There are a few differences in time and tempo, but by and large, Kerala is like any other region of India as regards the assimilation of Western ideas.

[4] Nehru, J., *The Discovery of India*, p. 337.

The Great Leaders

Western ideas spread in India more through Indian leaders than through Westerners themselves. This is true in literature—Chandu Menon and C. V. Raman Pillai were more instrumental in spreading the interests of fiction than were Dickens and Scott; Asan and Vallathol more responsible for diffusing the charms of the lyric than Keats and Shelley—and it is equally true in politics and even in religion. Now, who are the great leaders of India in the last one hundred and fifty years, and what were their reactions to the civilization of the West? Their response and reaction to Western ways of life must have had a considerable influence on their contemporaries and successors, of no matter what region. India has produced several towering leaders in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We shall just take a few of the tallest and try to ascertain what the West meant for them.

One of our earliest leaders who expressed himself strongly on the question is Ram Mohan Roy (1774-1833). When, to his scholarship in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, he added English and Greek, his chief aim was to understand the Bible. He accepted the ethical teachings of Jesus, but not the doctrines of Christianity. He reformed Hinduism and founded the "Brahmo Sabha" in 1828, which later evolved into the "Brahmo Samaj". It purged Hinduism of superstition and gave it a social content. Ram Mohan Roy is the first outstanding advocate of the Western type of education in India. He wanted "to instruct the natives of India in mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, astronomy and other useful sciences." He was convinced that the knowledge of these sciences gave a predominant position in the world to Europeans.

Vivekananda (1863-1902), inspired by Ramakrishna, gave to India, and the world, the message of harmony of faiths and inter-racial concord. For three years (1893-96) he toured the United States and England teaching the essentials of Hinduism, but at the same time he was imbibing the spiritual values of the West. That he was considerably impressed with the Western concept of social service is clear from the manner in which he organized the Ramakrishna Mission on his return to India.

Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) is well known as a universal man. In his own inimitable way he welcomes the mingling of East

and West : "When the streams of ideals that flow from the East and the West mingle their murmur in some profound harmony of meaning it delights my soul." His faith in the need for the meeting of East and West is emphasized in the Memorandum of Association of Viswabharati University. He gives the following as one of the objects : "To seek to realise in a common fellowship of study the meeting of the East and West and thus ultimately to strengthen the fundamental conditions of world peace through the establishment of communication of ideas between the two hemispheres."

Then we come to Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948), one of the greatest teachers of humanity. Though he worked in the political field, it is wrong to label him as a mere politician. Gandhism covered not only the political and social aspects of life, but all aspects including religion. What does he say about interculturation ? "The Indian culture of our times is in the making. Many of us are striving to produce a blend of all the cultures which seem today to be in clash with one another. No culture can live if it attempts to be exclusive." While encouraging the cultures to blend, Gandhi warns against possible dangers. Here is one of his most fascinating statements which has become a classic for its perennial inspiration. "I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off by any."

Coming to more recent times, we can turn our eyes to Jawaharlal Nehru, who possessed a most progressive and rational mind nurtured in the traditions of Western liberalism. In his *Discovery of India* there are several passages which highlight his ideas on cultural assimilation. Here is one : "It was India's way in the past to welcome and absorb other cultures. That is much more necessary today, for we march to the one world of tomorrow where national cultures will be intermingled with the international culture of the human race." He emphasized the same idea in a different way in his speech on August 15, 1947, proclaiming Indian Independence : ". . . .These dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together today for any one of them to imagine it can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible ; so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments."

Ram Mohan Roy, the first great Indian to usher in the new awakening, Swami Vivekananda who synthesized the traditional mysticism and Western philanthropy, Rabindranath Tagore who saw the heaven of freedom "where the world has not been broken up into narrow domestic walls," Mahatma Gandhi, who considered all men his brothers and brought spirituality to every aspect of life, Jawaharlal Nehru who while being every inch an Indian was most receptive to all kinds of progressive ideas, Eastern or Western—these were the tallest of our great leaders who inspired the intelligentsia and led the masses of India during a century of its modern history. All of them had vital contact with the great minds of the West, all of them were independent thinkers, but all responded sensitively to what seemed good to them. No one can deny the influence of the West on these great minds. It is these leaders who influenced our "life and letters" considerably during the great renaissance. The important works of these leaders have been made available in the Indian languages. Through them all languages have felt an indirect impact of Western trends in life and letters.

Socio-religious Life

The Western impact was felt on all aspects of life in India—religious, social, political, and domestic. It will be advantageous to have a survey, however general and brief, of how the Indian way of life was touched and affected by Western influence. We may also treat the religious and social aspects as one entity, as religion finds a natural expression in social activity. The first major impact of the West was on our religious and social set-up.

The culture of a country is built upon its traditions and ideals which originate from religious beliefs. In his *Observations on Culture* T. S. Eliot postulates that the basis of culture is religious beliefs. The basis of European culture is Christianity, just as the basis of Indian culture is Hinduism. An Indian, whether Hindu, Christian, or Muslim in his personal faith, shares the general culture of his country. In the same way a European, whether Christian, atheist, or theosophist, reflects his own culture which is Christian in its essentials. Therefore, when we take up the general question of the interaction of the European and Indian cultures, we have to first look into the coming together of Christianity and Hinduism.

Christianity existed in Kerala at least from the fourth century, if not from the first century itself. But it was not a vital and propagating faith and exhibited an isolationist tendency for centuries. In contrast, European Christianity which came to the shores of Kerala as early as the sixteenth century was vibrant and zealous. The missionaries, along with their humanitarian work, also converted a number of Hindus to Christianity. However, if the number of persons who have adopted the Christian faith is taken as the criterion, it cannot be said that this work was very successful, at least in quantitative terms. Even now the Christians form only about 2 per cent of the population of India. With the coming of the British, particularly from the early decades of the nineteenth century, the liberal type of Christianity which they brought made a great impact on the Hindu mind. This cannot be measured from conversion statistics, for it was not the Hindu who was proselytized, but Hinduism itself, so to speak, at least in a partial manner. And it is not the Christian missionary who was responsible for this trend of reformation in Hinduism, but the awakened Hindu himself.

This we can see in the Brahmo Samaj and the Ramakrishna Mission. They are reform movements in Hinduism, inspired largely by Christian ethics and ideals of Philanthrophy shown by Western missions. While dealing with Brahmo Samaj, K. M. Panikkar says: "Its social message was Westernization, to purge Hinduism of the customs and superstitions with which it was overlaid, to raise the status of women, to bridge the yawning gulf between popular and higher Hinduism, to fight relentlessly against caste, social taboo, polygamy, and other well entrenched abuses. To the educated Hindu, who felt unsettled in mind by the attack of the missionaries, the Brahmo Samaj provided the way out".[8] This observation throws light on the manner in which the awakened Hindu reacted to the socio-religious influence of the West.

Awakening in Kerala

The revitalisation of Hinduism and the addition of a social dimension to organised religion were, in essense, the beneficial results of the Western contact. These progressive ideas spread

[8] K. M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance*, p. 321.

throughout India in a short period and Kerala was no exception. The age old caste distinctions, superstitions, and certain degrading customs were seen in a new light. The socio-religious awakening in Kerala is evident in the Malayalee Memorial (1891) submitted to the Travancore Maharaja against Brahmin monopoly in the services, and the Ezhava mass Memorial (1896) highlighting the disabilities of that important community. Soon the awakening led to the formation of movements like the S. N. D. P. Yogam (1903) for Ezhavas inspired by Sri Narayana Guru, and the Nair Service Society (1914) for Nairs founded and organised by Mannath Padmanabhan. Even the Nambudiris, who were the top caste, thought it desirable to organise themselves, because they had their own social problems. Thus the Yoga Kshema Sabha was founded (1908).

While discussing the novel in Malayalam, we made some reference to the social implications of Chandu Menon's *Indulekha*. It was the first heavy stone thrown into the placid waters of the Hindu community in Kerala. The waves it caused lasted long and caused vibrations in various aspects of social life. The hero Madhavan, the heroine Indulekha, and her uncle the Dewan Peishkar were representatives of the best aspects of Western education and culture. Their victory in the novel over the forces of feudal ideas and decadent conventions is really the victory of Western ideas. Other writers followed Chandu Menon in planting the seeds of a social awakening. These literary works were, in a remarkable way, responsible for considerable social reform among the Hindus of Kerala. More people, including women, took to Western education. Rational thinking was considered more important than convention, and people began to realize that age does not always mean more wisdom. That is the message we get from the confrontation of Madhavan with his uncle Panchu Menon. Some people thought that the novel was written to ridicule the Nambudiri community. Reformation, not ridicule, was the aim of the author.

Now let us have a look at the objects of the Yoga Kshema Sabha. They were: (1) to agitate for the right of all young Nambudiri men to marry within the community (previously only the eldest son had the right to marry a Nambudiri woman, others had to seek Nair wives—a system similar to the law of primogeniture of the British); (2) to study English; (3) to abolish the practice

of *purdah* among the women ; (4) to allow widows to remarry. *Indulekha* can legitimately claim a share in the formulation of these reforms. However, in its implementation a greater share goes to *Atukkalayil Ninnum Arannattekku* (From the Kitchen to the Drawing Room, 1930), a social drama by V. T. Bhattatiripad, and *Aphante Makal*, a novel by Bhavatratan Nambudiripad. These reforms have been, by and large, accepted by the Nambudiri community in the last three decades. Literature inspired by progressive ideals had an important part to play in preparing people to accept such social changes.

Perhaps the greatest socio-religious movement in Kerala was initiated by Sri Narayana Guru, who worked not only for the liberation of the Ezhavas but for all those who were downtrodden and oppressed. He fought against polytheism and taught that there is only one God. This may sound ordinary to the modern man, but it meant a revolution for a community which had a pantheistic tradition. If there is only one God, there can be only one religion and that is the religion of man. If this is true, then it follows that there cannot be different castes, some with privileges and others with disabilities.

Narayana Guru found in Kumaran Asan an excellent spokesman to fight the evil of caste on the literary and organizational planes. Malayalam has rarely realized the power of words for social revolution as when Asan used them. In the chapter on poetry we have referred to his great works. All his major works, whether or not they contain a revolutionary social message, are built upon the central theme of love. This is significant. It is also significant that Buddhist lore and teachings held a special fascination for him. He was different from other poets of his days who usually depended on the Hindu epics and Puranas. He turned his eyes elsewhere for inspiration. And when he wrote about the "Sita lost in thought" of the Ramayana, he gave expression to the woman's point of view—the woman who had to suffer through no fault of her own. An estrangement in Asan's mind from the Hindu set-up is clear to the shrewd observer. This he developed partly out of the humiliation he had suffered in his own place and partly on account of the free spirit which he was able to breathe in Bangalore and Calcutta. The great minds of India had influenced him. He had also appreciated the liberalism of the West and the

precept of love emphasized most eloquently by Christianity. There are several excellent lines on love in his poems :

> Love is the essence of everything in the world.
> Death is nothing but the negation of love....

No wonder critics call him "*sneha gayakan*" meaning "Bard of love".

Vallathol and Ulloor have also sung movingly about love. They have also written about the cursed tradition of caste and other social inequalities. The teachings of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda and the writings of Tagore, Gandhi, and later Nehru have touched them. They also longed for a free and progressive India where human dignity would be restored. The great leaders of India were responsible not only for creating a spirit of religious tolerance but one of religious appreciation. "By religion," Gandhi said, "I do not mean formal religion or customary religion, but the religion which underlies all religions which bring us face to face with our Maker." He also said, "To me God is Truth and Love." The Hindu poets in Kerala began to see the good aspects of Christianity, Islam and Buddhism and began to sing about these. We have already referred to Asan's admiration for Buddhism. Just as *Magdalana Mariam*, the most enchanting poem in Malayalam based on a Christian theme, was written by the Hindu poet Vallathol, the most moving drama on the life of Jesus Christ was written by a Hindu playwright, Kainikkara Padmanabha Pillai. We have already referred to the classical dignity of this play, *Kalvariyile Kalpapadapam*, in the chapter on drama. Both Vallathol and Padmanabha Pillai have treated their subjects with reverence and understanding. The theme of Mary Magdalene, as we have seen in the chapter on poetry, is the conversion of a sinner who repented and loved Jesus. Here love is the fulfilling of the law. We have also referred to Asan's *Karuna* which deals with a similar story, but in a Buddhist setting ; here again is the sublimation of love, leading to *Nirvana*. And Ulloor was not wanting in presenting a similar theme of conversion, as he did in his *Pingala*.

As pointed out above, it is not only Kumaran Asan who wrote about the irrationality of caste distinctions. Vallathol and Ulloor also wrote on the theme with great indignation, though they themselves belonged to the higher castes. They were not communal writers, and indeed no great writer can be so. In his *Toni Yatra*

(A Boat Trip) Vallathol deals with a boatman who is an untouchable, and in *Śuddharil suddhan* (A Simpleton among Simpletons) he tells the story of an old man who would rather have his house destroyed by flames than permit an untouchable to draw water from a nearby well to put out the fire. In these and other poems, Vallathol tears to pieces the inhuman practices perpetrated in the name of caste. Ulloor also helps us to see the untouchables and the socially downtrodden with sympathy and understanding. *Vicharadhara* is a good example of his progressive outlook. Even in his poem on the music of love, *Prema Sangitam*, wherein he declares that "there is but one religion, love, the life of the world," he devotes some stanzas to indicating that there are no low-born and high-born. The spark of love is seen in the Brahmin and in the Pulaya (outcaste) in equal measure.

Creatures all, all of them
  are the warp and woof of God's raiment.
No wonder, God is absent to him
  who is unable to see his next door brother....

There is little difference between the highest king
  and the lowliest of the slaves....[7]

The idea that the love of God is manifested in the love of one's neighbour and that human beings are created equal, though found in all great religious, has been emphasised by Western Christianity.

During the second decade of the century when Kumaran Asan wrote so movingly and devastatingly about caste in his *Duravastha* and *Chandalabhiksuki*, his choice of subject was something out of the way and distasteful to the high-caste critics. It took hardly two decades for such attacks on social inequalities to be viewed as not only normal but fashionable and progressive. Many of our writers both in prose and poetry followed in the footsteps of Chandu Menon, Asan, and Vallathol. In their writings they have touched not only upon the evils of caste but on other socio-political questions such as eradicating superstitions and futile conventions, encouraging education and rational thinking, having faith in a democratic set-up, organizing to achieve progress, and above all instilling a sense of human equality. The writer, through his plots, characters,

[7] George, K. M., *A Survey of Malayalam Literature*, p. 237. A translation of the poem is given here.

and symbolism, can express the same ideas as the politician or social reformer. In every field—whether religious, social, political, or economic—the writer has a share. The more progressive writers of Kerala during the Gandhian era were largely products of Western education.

Political Life

As long as India was ruled by the British, we had two approaches in politics—the Britisher's approach and the Indian nationalist's approach. Indian nationals naturally wanted self-government, but the British had a different view for they believed they were engaged in a "civilizing mission." It is interesting to note that Indian nationalism was born in the English language and as a result of the impact of Western ideas of political thinking. The awakened Indian studied avidly the writings of Burke, Mill, Locke, Macaulay, Wilberforce, Bright, Paine, and Mazzini. It is from these writers that India came to an understanding of what liberty really is. The Indian National Congress was formed in 1885 as a by-product of the enlightenment gained from Western thinkers. For over two decades it remained a movement among the urban intelligentsia and the tempo was low. Dadabhai Nawroji was responsible for injecting a new vitality in 1906. However, the nation had to await the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi from South Africa to find its greatest leader and prophet. He made of Congress a real mass movement. Also Congress ceased to be a mere political movement, though politics was at the center of it. It became a composite movement with political, economic, social, and spiritual programmes. With his new instruments of *satyagraha* (soul-force) and *ahimsa* (non-violence), Gandhi sought not only to fight the British but to purify the nation and make it spiritually whole and mentally strong. When he saw ill-treatment of the depressed classes he said, "You have no right to home rule so long as you treat fellow citizens this way."

As one of the greatest teachers of humanity, Gandhi's words had great influence on both the intelligentsia and the masses of India. Whatever he wrote and said appeared in all the Indian languages. Literature in Indian languages swelled with Gandhiji's progressive thoughts. It is impossible to assess the quantity and nature of the writing inspired by him. Our great poet Vallathol

accepted Gandhi as his *guru* and wrote several poems on him and the ideals he sought to propagate. We have referred to his poems on the Congress tricolour flag and on social inequalities. He owes his inspiration to Gandhiji. The poem *Ente Gurunāthan* (My Teacher), which extols the great qualities of the teacher, ends as follows :

> If you want to see the self-sacrifice of Christ,
> The way to save *dharma* as shown by Krishna,
> Buddha's *ahimsa*,
> Sankara's intellect,
> Rantideva's compassion,
> Harischandra's truth,
> Muhammad's steadfastness,
> All in one person,
> Then please go to my guru,
> Or read his life story.

In this brief quotation can be seen not only the greatness of Gandhi but also the mood of the age to respect all religions—a mood popularised by Gandhiji himself. Gandhiji was unique in that, while being the strongest liquidator of the British Empire, he was the best friend of Britain. While he was a great Hindu, he was in a sense one of the most outstanding practical Christians of our century. More than millions who have professed Christianity, he put into practice its essential teachings. He was assassinated by a Hindu fanatic who failed to understand his fellow-feeling and consideration for the Muslim. How did his personality develop such dimensions ? He allowed the "cultures of all lands to be blown about his house." He imbibed the best aspects of European culture without rejecting the best in his own traditional culture. Thus the influence of Gandhiji has a reflex of Western thought and culture in it.

The British united India, established law and order, introduced a type of education which was secular and science-oriented. We learnt the ideals of democracy from the West and realized that a Government of the people, for the people, can only be run by the people. We watched the penal laws of the country being drafted on an equalitarian all-India basis. We were made aware of the right of the people to organize protests, agitations, and strikes against establishments who were holding tight to vested interests

This enlightenment on the democratic process was indeed a great step in our forward march. There was freedom of speech, and, by and large, a liberal atmosphere prevailed. Indian literature of this century reveals this progressive trend clearly. What we discussed in the earlier chapters bears ample testimony to this fact as far as Malayalam is concerned.

Late in the thirties our political thinking gained a new dimension. This time the impact came from the Soviet Union. The hard core of the ideology was economic in its concept. A classless society is as important as a casteless society. It is not enough if the doors of the schools and colleges are open to all castes and creeds. As long as a section of people remain poor, such opportunities are not real to them. And unless they study and equip themselves they cannot get suitable jobs. Thus the problem of all problems is economic disparity, and unless this is tackled, other solutions will give scant relief. The writers in Malayalam were quite alive to this question. They wanted to make the masses aware of it. The stories, plays, and poems written in the thirties and forties of the century clearly testify to this.

Attacks on establishments—on Christian churches, on Hindu temples, on government, on industrial establishments, etc.—are seen in the writings of our progressive section. The claims of the labourer and the cause of the underdog were advocated impressively by writers like Keshav Dev, Thakazhi, Ponkunnam Varki, and Pottekkad. As mentioned already, the progressive writers in Malayalam received inspiration from writers not only of England but of the Soviet Union, France, and other European Countries as well. They emphasized the connection between life and letters as never before.

Family Life

Westernization has had its impact on the family set-up as well. This was partly on account of the new education and partly on account of industrialization. India, a predominantly agrarian society, was partly industrialized by the British. Factories and plantations were set up in many areas. The introduction of the printing press, the railway, steam navigation, the automobile, telegraph, and aeroplane made India more modern. Increased communication facilities in turn meant closer and quicker contact with the Western world.

How has industrialization affected the domestic set-up? First, it broke up the large joint families. Taking the Kerala village as an example, the senior *Karanavar* (*Pater Familias*) in days gone by could manage the affairs of a large family because there was sufficient landed property. The major communities in Kerala observed the matrilineal system. The *Karanavar's* responsibility was to look after his sisters, nieces, and nephews, not his wife and children. That was their uncles' look-out. In most cases the husband was a mere visitor in the home of his wife. In the new set-up, educated young men left their homes and worked in far away towns or estates. It then became natural for their wives to accompany them and thus they formed smaller family units and looked after their children. This led to the disintegration of joint families and the consequent disappearance of the matrilineal system. The conflict of interests when a new system tries to replace the old has been the subject of several plays and stories in Malayalam, as, for instance, Uroob's *Survey Stone*.[8] Certain good aspects of the old family set-up still continue to have their influence. People do show interest in the welfare of their relatives, and older people are treated with respect and consideration.

Compared to her counterpart in other areas, the woman in Kerala held a superior position on account of the system of inheritance. Yet there were aspects in which she suffered. Manu's code had its deep influence everywhere in India and Kerala was no exception. According to Manu "the father protects her in childhood, the husband in youth, the son in advanced years—a woman is never fit to depend on herself." She would be given in marriage even as a child, she would not get proper education, and she was responsible for doing all chores in the household. Gradually all this changed and the woman's status was raised. It is now agreed that the woman should be as well educated as the man. In this regard the Christians in Kerala set the example for others to follow. They themselves had received it from the European missionary. In any case, Western influence is responsible for the emancipation of the Indian woman.

In Kerala there are several outstanding women writers: the poetesses Balamani Amma and Sugatha Kumari, and the fiction writers Lalithambika Antarjanam, K. Saraswathi Amma, and Annie

[8] George, K. M., *A Survey of Malayalam Literature*. In the Appendix *Survey Stone* is reproduced in translation.

Thayyil. Some of them have sown the seeds of reform in their writings particularly to the end of bettering woman's position. For instance Antarjanam has described the disabilities of the Nambudiri woman who is forced to lead a secluded life. Balamani Amma has glorified motherhood and its sacred responsibilities. The men writers have also used their pen to fight for the cause of women. The woman has ceased to be the "domestic machinery" or robot needed to prepare food articles and tidy up the house, but has evolved as a companion who can offer assistance and guidance in every aspect of life. In this regard, the West has shown us the way, and Kerala leads the rest of India.

It has been a common business for writers of fiction to indulge in depicting the advantages of love-affairs leading to marriage. To begin with, such things existed only in imaginary stories ; in actual life the parents used to arrange marriages. But things have changed considerably of late. Love-marriages have become less unusual, and consulting the future partners before a final settlement of the marriage has become very common. Here also we see "letters" influencing "life." Our writers were in many cases trying to emulate the West in concocting interesting love episodes. And many young men and women read novels and short stories by Western authors and are particularly intoxicated by the romance and "free love" which exist abundantly in Western literature.

General Attitude

The West has to a certain extent affected our general attitude and approach to life. The scientific spirit of enquiry and the keenness to harness the forces of nature in the service of human happiness exemplified by the West inspired Indians. Slowly this spirit was imbibed by the educated. Philosophical speculation lost its glamour and the intelligentsia devoted more time to the study of the physical sciences. The English were a practical people and they inculcated this empirical spirit in Indians. What can be seen and checked by the senses became more important than imaginative explorations. Thus a climate for study and research in the positive sciences was created.

Writing about the deep influence of the West on India, H. G. Rawlinson refers to the difficulty of assessing the content of Western civilization which India has accepted : "It is hard to

distinguish the permanent content of that civilization from temporary forms, but throughout the greater part of the world, it may be said to connote three things, the Christian ethic, the rule of law and the conquest of nature by science."[9] We have already referred to the Christian ethic. The rule of law and equality before the law have themselves been evolved in the West as an extension of Christian ethics. These were welcomed as progressive ideas. The idea that one's religion, caste, colour, creed, or sex makes no difference before the law was a British contribution.

The West which introduced the spiritual aspect of Christianity, also gave to India ideas of atheism, agnosticism and rationalism. This came as a part of the spirit of rational enquiry and search after truth so well developed in Europe Not that the rationalistic approach was unknown in India, but the Western free-thinkers stimulated our writers to assert that human reason unaided is competent to attain objective truth. The researches of Darwin and Freud made a deep impression on writers. In Kerala, writers like M. C. Joseph and Kuttipuzha Krishna Pillai were attracted by Western rationalists and agnostics. They have contributed to the spread of rationalistic thinking in Kerala by their writings.

East and West

We have been looking at Kerala and India in the context of their contact with the West, particularly Britain. In general terms we were trying to ascertain the implications of the coming together of the East and West, for Britain represents the West just as India does the East. What happens when two cultures meet? This is a subjct which lends itself to very extensive investigation and study. What happens when two individuals meet? The reaction may be one of indifference, or antagonism, or admiration; whatever it be, it will be mutual. When two cultures remain in contact over a long period, the reaction may be of three types: (1) mutual indifference leading to co-existence, (2) contempt desiring rejection or separation, and (3) appreciation leading to a cultural osmosis or interpenetration.

The coming together of two cultures means the contact of two communities. Therefore it is possible to have all three reactions

[9] O'Malley, ed., *Modern India and the West*, p 809.

in parts or in the different layers of social life. As a matter of fact, when the East and West came together there was indifference in certain layers and antagonism in certain others, but the dominant reaction was one of appreciation which led to give and take. As we have pointed out earlier, the contact was most vital in the last 150 years. However, we should remember that the West represented three different faces, viz., (1) The British Government, (2) the Protestant missionaries, and (3) the Orientalists. The Indian reactions to these were also not uniform. As far as cultural values were concerned, the missionaries were more interested in giving and the Orientalists were more interested in taking, but no process was exclusive.

In this work we are more interested in the cultural osmosis—the interpenetration of values of life. Even though it is true that there has been both giving and taking, it has not always been on an equal or matching basis. The West was more modern and progressive, and the East with all its ancient wisdom was stagnant and lethargic. This inequality was heightened by the fact that the Western culture had a special prestige derived from the backing of the ruling government. Thus the East and the West functioned on two different planes, the West no doubt being on the higher level. In other words, there was more flow towards the East from the West than vice versa.

Michael Edwards makes the following observation which is relevant here. "Secure in her overwhelming strength, Britain became the purveyor of a higher material and spiritual civilization whose boons she did not hesitate to force upon her subjects....Her colonial policy, ill-formulated as it was, and distorted by the arrogance and bloody-mindedness of some of her empire-builders, was in a profound sense 'progressive.'"[10] The impact of the West during the colonial regime can be likened to a river in spate. It has its good and bad sides. It is interesting to watch the reddish water flowing at great speed, submerging the banks, uprooting plants, and sweeping animals off their feet. Though it disturbs normal life for a time, it serves to bring more fertility to the fields and pastures it has touched. This fertilizing process results in more beautiful flowers and more abundant fruits. The sweeping flow of Western culture, in the same way, has uprooted certain

[10] Michael Edwards, *Asia in the European Ages*, pp. 10-11.

traditional attitudes and given rise to fresh ideas and new approaches to life. Dirt and manure come together sometimes. And it takes some time for the plants to absorb the useful manure and reject the dirt.

Let us take a quick glance at certain external aspects of our imitation of the West. While assimilating knowledgeably is praiseworthy, imitating indiscriminately is foolish. In our food habits, dress, games, and other aspects of social life, we have imitated the West often without much discrimination. If we can recapture the sophisticated life in urban areas three or four decades ago, we can get a good picture of the extent to which aping had gone. The Indian counterpart of the European "gentleman" could not be seen without a tie and collar, socks and garters, not to speak of coat and pants and the indispensable hat. This Indian *sahib* ate English food served on a table and even when *chappati* was served he would try to tackle it with knife and fork. In the evening he would go to the European club and indulge in Western games like billiards, golf, or cards. He would also enjoy European liquor. Imitation of the Englishman's dress and habits of life made him look like a buffoon. Things have changed considerably. Much of this has been discarded, like the superfluous dress and unnecessary cutlery. But quite a few items remain because they are useful to our way of life, like the trousers, the bush shirt, the table and chair, the spoon, and others.

Even in our names there has been an imitation of the West. From the Portuguese came D'Costa and D'Silva. Among the Christians of Kerala, Thoma became Thomas, Mathai became Mathews, Chacko became Jacob, Verghese became George, Mariam became Mary, Anna became Annie, Aley became Elizabeth, and so on and so forth. Even some Hindus found it convenient to trim their name to Western forms, such as P. Warren for Parameswaran, G. O. Pal for Gopalan, and S. Vasan for Srinivasan. Some sophisticated parents trained their children to call them "Daddy" and "Mummy," rejecting the traditional forms of address which were in no way inferior. These are a few examples of fashion-mongering which was rather prevalent among the English-educated people, particularly those belonging to urban areas.

The literary realm was not spared such whimsical imitation either. Our literatures were growing in the shade, so to speak, the shade being provided by the English language which was the

language of administration and medium of instruction. When a seedling is freshly planted, it is usual to provide a little shade lest it be scorched by the sun. But after it has struck roots, the shade is a handicap to full growth. A language grows when there is need for growth, i.e., to the extent you make use of it. When it is made the medium of instruction in schools it grows to that extent. This has already happened in the case of all our major languages in the last quarter of a century. The next step is being faced now. All our literatures have grown considerably on account of their contact with Western literature, particularly English. There is no denying this fact. But we should not blind ourselves to the fact that English was kept on a higher level, keeping Indian languages in a secondary status, till the dawn of Independence. This does not mean that our literatures were suppressed by English, but it has stood in the way of their free and full development.

Jawaharlal Nehru, in an extempore speech made while presenting the Sahitya Akademi Awards in March 1963, referred to the manner in which Indian languages were influenced in the modern period.

> The modern world gradually crept into India and that influenced our languages. And the modern literature in these languages is naturally much affected by the modern world, modern problems. That is as it should be. And so we find an interesting aspect of this question, that, in a period when English was more or less the official language of India under the British rule and was affecting large numbers of our people, the coming of English affected the Indian languages in a different way by indirectly encouraging them, because English happened to be the vehicle through which we came into contact with the new world. And therefore, modern ideas, modern concepts began to enrich our languages through English, or because of our knowledge of English, and our languages grew. I have no doubt that they will grow ; even now they are strong and very effective languages and a large number of books are being published, books of merit. But to think that a language is crushed or oppressed by another language is not quite correct. It is enriched by another language.[11]

This enrichment however was within the limits of opportunities afforded to the various languages.

[11] *Indian Literature* (Sahitya Akademi Journal), Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 66-67.

It is true that our literatures have by and large imbibed the modern spirit from Western literature. But it is wrong to imagine that all that is Western is modern or all that is Eastern is old. It is equally wrong to imagine that all that is modern in point of time is more progressive than all that is less modern. Westernism and modernism are not interchangeable terms. Though Westernism is neither all modern nor all good, there are many things in it which we can accept and adapt. This process has been going on for several decades, though along with it we have accepted certain things which were not beneficial. This should not surprise anyone. We should not also imagine that all that is modern in our literature is Western.

The Picture after Independence

But how are we faring after Independence? Has there not been a change in our response to Western culture and way of life after we became a free nation? Political support for granting a superior status to English has disappeared; but still English is maintaining a privileged position on account of its intrinsic worth. This has been pointed out in the chapter on "Increasing Impact." However, the regional literatures no longer have a subordinate status. The great boom in journalistic writings and the phenomenal increase in the number of books published after 1947 indicate that our literatures are coming into their own. At the same time it has to be noted that translation into Malayalam from and through English has also increased significantly after Independence. This shows that the difference in status has not meant any significant waning of Western influence in the literary field. This is a healthy sign.

The writers in Malayalam harbour no ill will against English. The presence or absence of Englishmen in India as rulers does not concern the writer as he is interested in learning and aesthetic experience. Perhaps the manner in which Independence was achieved has created a fine atmosphere for continued co-operation in the intellectual and cultural realm, which is going on with great vigour, while servile imitation has become almost a thing of the past.

English, the Great Connecting Link

We have spoken quite a bit about the influence of the West on our life and letters. We have taken a lot from the West and have given it something of our own. The great highway which helped this movement of ideas and experience, which made possible an incessant traffic between East and West, has been the language called English. There are many great languages in the East and in the West—languages like Cantonese and Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, French, German, and Russian—but none has provided an intellectual highway as wide and as extensive as has English. The West has spoken to us *through* English ; also the rest of the world.

English has over 300 million speakers in the world, second only to Chinese when its various dialects are treated as one. And these 300 million speakers are spread throughout every region of the world. No other language can make such a claim. Modern English is no longer the exclusive property of the Englishman. He can, of course, claim that he speaks the best English, and we need not pick a quarrel with him on this account. English with its multifarious dialectal variations is not the ancestral property of a particular community. It is the language of everyone who can handle it effectively. In fact no language can be a monopoly of any restricted community.

Now, as far as India is concerned, what is the future of this great link language of the world ? The Indian language scene (with fifteen major languages recognized by the Constitution and the historic link language still functioning) has been gradually changing since Independence. Till 1965 English continued to be the official language of the Union Government according to the constitutional provision. Now it is an associate official language along with Hindi. In the high courts and the universities English continues to be the medium. In schools, in lower courts, and partially in state administration the regional languages have been accepted. There is a strong move now to replace English at all levels, and the matter is under serious consideration by the government bodies. The Education Commission which presented its report in 1966 has recommended that English be replaced as the medium of instruction in Universities by one or the other of the regional languages. They have suggested a period of ten years to

implement this reform. There is a section of senior educationalists who are strongly against this change-over. To see the nature of the conflict, we shall quote a spokesman for each view.

The elder statesman C. Rajagopalachari, in his book *The Question of English*, says :

> English may not be spoken in India, but it is the language that unites all the different regions of India into one and India herself with the rest of the world. It serves as the continuous vehicle that brings into its life the best from all parts of the civilized world. (p. 43)

Rajagopalachari sincerely feels that English should continue as the sole official language of India and also the medium in the universities so that the unity of the country is not impaired by the divisive forces. Against this, let us contrast the view of Dr. Triguna Sen erstwhile minister for education in the central government. Before taking over as the education minister, he was a member of the Education Commission (1966). He is reported to have said the following in June 1967, as quoted in one of the daily papers

> The English language stimulated the creative genius of several Indians and led to a flowering of modern literature in all Indian languages.
>
> A time has come when we must take a bold step to change this situation and adopt the regional languages as media of education at the university stage. I am quite clear in my mind that unless this is done, the real creative energies of the people will not be released, standards in education will not improve, knowledge will not spread to the people and the gulf between the intelligentsia and the masses will continue to widen.
>
> This would not imply an abolition of English, but on the contrary, it would mean a better and deeper study of English by every student who desired access to world knowledge and there would be millions of such students in the secondary schools, colleges and universities.

Despite the divergence in their views, we are able to see a common ground, namely, that a deep study of English should continue. In fact there is complete unanimity about this among all the educationists. But the doubt is whether the changed circumstances would encourage or even permit such a deep study of

English except for a very limited number. There is also agreement that the standard of English has gone down in the last two decades. But despite all this, the Indian literatures are showing the beneficial influence of English writings even today. What will be the position twenty-five years hence? It seems difficult to predict. Without venturing into any predictions ourselves, let us examine what a well-known writer predicted as early as 1944.

In his *Verdict on India*, Beverly Nichols predicted as follows: "Long after we have left, the students of the future will be opening the golden pages of the *Areopagitica* and thrilling, as young men should thrill, to the revolutionary music of Shelley. The ghost of Byron will brood in the quadrangles of universities yet unbuilt and in the council chambers there will be heard the echo of the distant cadences of Burke". (p. 295) Of course, Milton, Shelley, Byron, and Burke are great. But other countries have also produced great poets and great thinkers, and the students of Independent India need not limit their choices to English writers. They can hear haunting sounds from various other regions. Even in the same language, English, other countries have produced great writers—countries like America, Canada, Australia, the West Indies, the Philippines, and India. The transplanted tree sometimes produces more abundant fruits. *English literature* is not likely to have the prominent place it once had in our curriculam; but *literature in English* is bound to have a very important place in the India of tomorrow as this literature is a significant part of the world literature and the vehicle of a vast and ever growing volume of modern knowledge.

The following words of Mahatma Gandhi uttered years before Independence has been strikingly prophetic: "The British Empire will go, because it has been and still is bad. But the Empire of the English language cannot go."

One more word about English. The dollar of international literary exchange happens to be English. The international worth of academic works is decided in a currency which is called English. If a work is originally produced in English, it gets the face value. In the case of other languages, the nearer a language is to English, the better chance it has for a proper evaluation, because less damage is done by translation. Scientific works also get a fair chance, as they deal in international symbols. But when literary works are to be judged, they suffer a lot in translation. And languages of the

East suffer most as they are most distant from English culturally and linguistically. Tagore got the Nobel prize for literature (1913) because *Gitanjali* appeared in English and several unexpected factors contributed to his recognition at that time. That remains a solitary exception even today. It is extremely difficult for an Indian writer to achieve international distinction, for the simple reason that he writes in a tongue which is not international. Even in the case of Tagore there has been an erosion of his prestige as a poet. Imagine Whitman, Wordsworth, and Heine being translated into Bengali and placed side by side with Tagore. What would be the opinion of an unprejudiced Bengali critic who has not seen the originals? He will totally disagree with the general international assessment which now prevails. The wisdom and art of the West has come fully and very prominently into the English language, but that of the East lies scattered in the various languages of India, China, Japan and other countries. Except for a few sporadic attempts in English (thanks to certain orientalists and universities) no concerted and comprehensive effort has been made to collect them in any language, Eastern or Western. So when you picture in your mind East and West, and the great "highway" of English, you are somewhat disappointed about the inconvenient gradient. The levels are different even in cultural matters and not only in material prosperity. Literary exchange between East and West functions on an inclined plane as it were. The assumption is that in the developing countries everything, including literature and culture, is developing. This is questionable. It is high time we all realized the need for better reciprocity in this literary exchange between East and West.

Conclusion

In this survey, however cursory it may be, we have seen that the West has influenced Malayalam literature considerably and at various levels. We have highlighted the beneficial aspects of the influence, though to a degree the negative aspects were also there. And as far as the impact is concerned, Malayalam literature by and large represents Indian literature, though it may be added that Malayalam has been a little more vital and receptive to outside influences than her sister languages. In fact, the long history of foreign contacts gave Kerala a tradition of acculturation and a

place ahead of the rest of India in matters of literacy and education. This process of literary assimilation was particularly manifest in written works of the last three or four decades.

Apart from Sanskrit, no other language has *touched* Malayalam as deeply and as effectively as English. The contribution of Sanskrit can be traced even to the very foundation of the language, but that of English is in the superstructure only, in the glamorous area of literature. Modern Malayalam literature has gained much from the literatures of the West, particularly English. It has grown tremendously by assimilating Western ideas and forms, though the assimilation has not always been as selective as we would have desired. There has been so much of translation and adaptation, and so many kinds of imitation of Western literature. But despite all this, Malayalam literature remains Malayalam literature and not Western literature in a new garb. Looking at the list of foreign titles which have appeared in the language, one might sometimes entertain such a doubt. The tree should not make us forget the forest.

We are now politically and culturally free. We have the freedom to shrink into our own shell, to be isolated, to be self-complacent. We have also the freedom to come out of our shell, to draw upon outside resources as well as to stimulate and cross-fertilize other agencies with our innate strength and intrinsic quality. We have the freedom "to get into an intellectual prison" as Nehru said some time ago. We have also the freedom and the opportunity to be out in the open and to progress as a truly modern and civilized community marching towards the grand goal of cosmopolitanism. In this march we will permit the influence of not only English, but also French, Russian, German, and other great languages; we will welcome not only the inspiring impact of the Western literatures, but also those of China, Japan, and other Eastern countries. While welcoming all such influences from outside sources, we shall not forget the warning of Mahatma Gandhi, not to be swept off our moorings.

In fact the literature of a region can be likened to a tree which grows and flourishes on account of various contributory factors. It has its roots in a particular region, but its branches are high in the air and subject to various influences. It gets its main nourishment from its own soil where the roots function unseen. The breeze from all directions, shaking and challenging, gives strength

and capacity for growth. The direct rays from the sun give vitality and radiance. The rain from the skies gives it freshness and vigour. The free and unhindered atmosphere gives it an opportunity to spread its branches far. We thus see that a plant cannot be healthy and strong if it depends only on its own soil. It cannot grow well in a glass-house or shade or even in a valley, but must be in the open. So is the case with literature. The roots of our literature may be in our own tradition, but it should so grow with healthy stimulation from other sources that it spreads its branches so far out that the fruits can be shared by others.

What does Rabindranath Tagore, the many-splendoured genius who has imbibed most from other cultures, say on this point: "It is needless to say that the literature of every country is primarily for its own readers. But we must expect from it that openness whereby it can welcome at its table all people from far and near. The literature from which that hospitality is for all is great. People of all ages guarantee the stability of that literature. Its foundation is in the hearts of all people."[18]

In its onward march, Malayalam literature has not only increased its utility and wealth by its contact with the literatures of the West, it has also started to share some of its fruits with other literatures, Indian as well as foreign, though in a very modest way. It is hoped that this two-way traffic will grow from strength to strength so that the ideal of a better reciprocity is soon realized. Creative efflorescene fortunately is not the monopoly of bigger languages, though recognition is easier there. It must be admitted that Malayalam literature has been enamoured of the versatility and range of English literature. English made ample use of the opportunities history offered her. There is no language in the world which has taken so much from other languages as English has done. and there is none which has given so much to other languages. Therein lies its distinctive stamp. Let us hope that Malayalam and other Indian languages will emulate English in this matter of literary and cultural interchange.

[18] *Modernism in Literature*, reproduced in *Indian Literature*, Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 1-3.

APPENDIX A

(I) PORTUGUESE WORDS IN MALAYALAM

Malayalam	*Portuguese*	*Meaning or English equivalent*	*Remarks*
almara (alumari)	Armario	cupboard	
amara	amora	mulberry tree	
ananas	ananas(?)	pine apple	mod. Mal. Kaitaccakka*
anju	anjo	angel	in use among Christians*
appostalan	apostolo	apostle	*
aspatri (aśupatri)	hospital	hospital	*
atta	ata	custard apple	attaccakka or parankiccakka
biskottu (biskattu)	biscoito	biscuit	*
borma	forno	baker's oven	*
buccu	bucha	cork	
cannatam	Jangada	ferry boat	
cappa	chapa	a thin metal plate	cappa ituka—to cock the trigger
cara	jarra	a jar	
cavi	case	key	
cinter	cinzel	burnishing chisel	a chisel to polish wooden material
cippuli	cepilho	a plane used by ciners	
diyab (diyablu)	diabo	devil	
emprador	emperador	emperor	*
gavarñador	governador	governor	
gudam	gudao	warehouse for goods and stores	*The word might have come from the Dravidian "kitannu"
govi (govinnu)	couve	cabbage	Present word muṭṭa gus
inglisu	ingles	English	
irayal (ressu)	Real	Port. coin	
	reis	Port. coin equal to 25th part of one anna	

* Also in Dutch.

Malayalam	*Portuguese*	*Meaning or English equivalent*	*Remarks*
iskul	escola	school	*
istri	esterar	smoothing iron	pressing iron *
jenal (jenala)	janela	window	
jenaral	jeneral	general	
kamis	camiso	shirt	(Ar. Qamis)
kasu	caju (Brazilian acaju)	cashew tree	
kattu	cartha	letter	
kasera	cadeira	chair	*
kappa	capa	cloak	ceremonial vestment of a Syrian Christian priest
kappiri	cafre	negro	Ar. kefir infidel *
karppu	garfo	a fork	*
kattōlikkan	catolicao	a catholic	*
kirati	giradi	grade ; lattice ; railing	*
kurisu (kurusu)	cruz	cross	
kummantar	commandar	commander	
kapparikka	capar	to castrate	
kappittan	capitao	captain	*
kappus	capuz	hood	The head-dress of Christian Fathers and nuns
kuler	colher	spoon	
konta	contas	beads of rosary	
kumpasaram	confessar	confession	
koratavu	corda	rope, whip	
koppa	copo	cup	
korchu	corja	a merçantile term for a score	
kocen	cocho	coach	origin Hungarian
lanter (rantal)	lanterna	lantern	
lenci, lesu	lenco	a handkerchief	kailesu
lelam or elam	leilac	auction sale advertisement ; proclamation	* (Ar. al. i lam)
lista	lista	list	
lova (lōha)	loba	a wide cassock	

* Also in Dutch.

Malayalam	*Portuguese*	*Meaning or English equivalent*	*Remarks*
meśa	mesa	a table	(Ar. mez)
mestri, mestari	mestre	foreman	master workman
navali	navalha	a clasp-knife, razor	
nave	nave	middle part of church	
oriojikka	relojio	watch, clock	*
olamari	almadia	a kind of ship	
olumpu	plumbo	plummet	
pankayam	pangaio	a two-mastered barge with lanteen sails	
p(b)appai	papaio	a kind of melon,	omakkaya
parantiriyis	franze (fr. français)	French	*
pasaram	passar	to transfer (to another)	Subscription to the church
pattakku	pattaca (Ar. obtaqa)	European coin	an ornament
patiri	padre	clergyman parish priest	Also padiri
pattu	pato	goose	Also vattu
pappa	papa	the Pope	
peciteri] peritēripani]	pedreiro	stone mason masonry	
peña	pena	quill; writing pen	
pera	pera	guava	
pickkam (pikkassu)	picaõ	mason's pickaxe	
pintarikka	pintar	to paint	
pinna	pinha	pine wood	also vinnappetti (pine box)
pippa	pipa	cask	also vippa
porkku	porco	a pig	
prakuka	praga	curse (to)	
ravekka	rabeaca	a fiddle	
rattal	arratel	A pound of 12 ounces	
renta	rendo	embroidery	

* Also in Dutch.

Malayalam	*Portuguese*	*Meaning or English equivalent*	*Remarks*
rontu (rōntu cuttuka)	ronda	the round	to go round patrolling places
sakalattu (cakalassu)	escarlata	scarlet (woollen cloth)	
savela	chavela	the peg of a wain beam	
sagu, savu, (savulari; sevvari)	sago	a grain	*
sodati (sodati)	sorte	lottery	
tamper	tambo	a drum	also tampura
tambakku	tambaca (tambaque)	an alloy of copper and zinc	*
tambloor	tambler	drinking vessel	
tanassu	tenaz	pincers; tweezers	
tarippu	tarifa	tariff	
teyila	tea	tea	*
turunku	tronco	jail	
turuppu	tropa	troop	
tuvala	toalha	towel; handkerchief	
tres	tres	a franction of Reas	
vattakka	pateca	watermelon	
vattela	batel	a sea boat	
varkkasu	barca	bark, a sea boat	
vattēri	bateria	a set of guns, battery	cf. Sultanbattēri—name of a place
vassi	bacia or vaso	dinner plate, vessel	*
vender	vender	sale agent	
veruma	verruma	a gimlet	
vīsagari	bisagra	a hinge, iron band or clamp	
vīnnu	vinho	wine	
villutu (villasu)	velludu	velvet	

* Also in Dutch.

(II) FRENCH WORDS IN MALAYALAM

Malayalam	*French*	*Meaning or English equivalent*	*Remarks*
avakka	avocade	butter fruit	
banku	banc	bench	*
bursua	bourgeois	bourgeois	
brigadi	brigadier	corporal sergeant of police	
delege	delegue	delegate	used as head of a department
gumai	gommo	rubber	*
grofi	greffier	recorder of court	registrar of court
kappitian	capitaine	captain	* Also Portuguese
kafe	cafe	restaurant	
komantam	commondment	command	injunction order
kalasam	calecon	trousers	
kartustam	cartouche	charge for a gun or a cannon	
kuśiṅi	cuisine	kitchen	
kumpanni (kompaṅṅi)	compagnie	company	*
kuyil (kuzil)	cuiliere	spoon	
kupon	coupon	coupon	
komissar	commissaire	commissioner	*
manta	mandat	money order	pay bill *
mer	maire	mayor	municipal chairman
meri	mairie	town hall	municipal office
osyar (osyar) ossivar	huissier	gentleman, user, bailiff	
papraśśa	paperasse	waste paper	*not in proper order
pirance	France		
plima	plume	pen	
plimattantu		pen holder	
prasaraval	procesverbal	official report	
regal	regle	ruler	
somasyam	sommation	summons ; appeal	

* Also in Dutch.

(III) DUTCH WORDS IN MALAYALAM

Malayalam	*Dutch*	*Meaning or English equivalent*	*Remarks*
kakkus	kakhus	latrine	
kettal	ketel	kettle	
appottekkiri	appotheker	doctor (pharmacist)	
kalkkam or kaḍkam	kalkoen	turkey	
kard	kart	card	
turup	troef	trump	
teyila	thee	tea	Also Portuguese
akru	schroef	screw	
binskōp	bioscoop	cinema	
sigaraṭ	sigaret	cigarette	
kōpi	copie	copy	

APPENDIX B

LISTS OF BORROWED IDIOMS

1. *Western idioms which have taken root in Malayalam*

Alice in Wonderland	അത്ഭുതലോകത്തിലെ ആലിസ്.
add fuel to the fire	എരിതീയിൽ എണ്ണ ഒഴിക്കുക.
against the current	ഒഴുക്കിനെതിരേ.
aid without strings	ചരടില്ലാത്ത സഹായങ്ങൾ.
bed of roses	സുമശയ്യ
bell the cat (to)	പൂച്ചയ്ക്കു മണികെട്ടുക.
between the devil and the deep blue sea	പാറക്കെട്ടിനും കടലിനും മദ്ധ്യേ.
blackleg	കരിങ്കാലി
black market	കരിഞ്ചന്ത
blow one's trumpet	സ്വന്തം കാഹൾ (കാഹളം) ഊതുക
bolt from the blue	ആകാശഗർജ്ജിതം.
burning problem	നീറുന്ന പ്രശ്നം.
cast your net	വല വീശുക.
castle in the air	ആകാശസൗധം.
cat's paw	പൂച്ചക്കൈയ്യ്
circle of acquaintance	പരിചിതവൃത്തം.
circle of friends	സ്നേഹിതവലയം.
cold war	ശീതസമരം.
coloured truth	മായം (നിറം) ചേർത്ത സത്യം.
come to light (to)	വെളിച്ചത്തു വരിക.
day-dream	പകൽക്കിനാവ്.
days to be numbered	ദിനങ്ങൾ എണ്ണപ്പെടുക
dig one's grave (to)	സ്വയം ശവക്കുഴിതോണ്ടുക.
double-dealing	ഇരട്ടത്താപ്പുനയം.
fifth columnist	അഞ്ചാം പത്തിക്കാരൻ.
fish in troubled waters (to)	കലങ്ങിയ വെള്ളത്തിൽ മീൻ പിടിക്കുക
fool's paradise	മൂഢസ്വർഗ്ഗം (വിഡ്ഢികളുടെ സ്വർഗ്ഗം).
forbidden fruit (B)	വിലക്കപ്പെട്ട കനി.
fresh blood	പുതുരക്തം.
friend, philosopher and guide	സുഹൃത്തും ദാർശനികനും വഴികാട്ടിയും

(B)—Biblical expression

from the frying pan to the fire	വറ ചട്ടിയിൽനിന്നും എരിതീയിലേക്ക്.
give ear (to)	ചെവികൊടുക്കുക.
golden opportunity	സുവർണ്ണാവസരം.
iron curtain	ഇരുമ്പുമറ.
ivory tower	ദന്തഗോപുരം.
land flowing with milk and honey (B)	പാലും തേനും ഒഴുകുന്ന ദേശം.
lion's share	സിംഹഭാഗം.
melting pot	ഉരുക്കുമുശ.
milestone (a)	നാഴികക്കല്ല്.
missing link	വിട്ടുപോയ കണ്ണി.
naked eye	നഗ്നദൃഷ്ടി.
open a new chapter (to)	പുതിയ അദ്ധ്യായം തുറക്കുക.
open mind	തുറന്ന മനസ്സ്.
open secret	പരസ്യമായ രഹസ്യം.
pay in the same coin (to)	അതേ നാണയത്തിൽ തടക്കിക്കൊടുക്കുക.
perform one's role	പങ്കു നിർവ്വഹിക്കുക.
place on the table	മേശപ്പുറത്തു വയ്ക്കുക.
play the trump card	തുറുപ്പുചീട്ടു പ്രയോഗിക്കുക.
promise of the future	ഭാവിയുടെ വാഗ്ദാനം.
put forward	മുന്നോട്ടു വയ്ക്കുക.
scapegoat (B)	ബലിയാട്.
school (of thought)	സ്കൂൾ (ചിന്താപദ്ധതി).
sell like hot cakes (to)	ചൂടപ്പം പോലെ വില്ക്കുക.
shepherd and his flock (B)	ഇടയനും കുഞ്ഞാടുകളും.
soap-box orator	സോപ്പുപെട്ടി പ്രാസംഗികൻ.
sour grapes	പുളിക്കും മുന്തിരിങ്ങ.
split hairs (to)	തലനാരിഴ കീറുക.
stand on one's own feet (to)	സ്വന്തം കാലിൽ നില്ക്കുക.
storm in a tea cup	ചായക്കോപ്പയിലെ കൊടുങ്കാറ്റ്.
sugar-coated words	ചക്കരവാക്കുകൾ.
take into account	കണക്കിൽ എടുക്കുക.
take time	സമയം എടുക്കുക.
take rest	വിശ്രമം എടുക്കുക.
thirties and forties	മുപ്പതുകളും നാല്പതുകളും.
through their eyes	അവരുടെ കണ്ണിലൂടെ.
throw mud at (to)	ചെളിവാരി എറിയുക.

(B)—Biblical expression

time-killer	സമയം കൊല്ലി.
time-server	അവസരസേവകൻ.
turning-point	വഴിത്തിരിവ്.
vested interests	സ്ഥാപിത താത്പര്യങ്ങൾ.
wash one's hands off (B)	കൈയ് കഴുകി പിന്മാറുക.
white elephant	വെള്ളാന.
whitewash	വെള്ളയടിക്കുക (വെള്ളപൂശുക).
whitewashed sepulchre (B)	വെള്ളതേച്ച ശവക്കല്ലറ.
widow's mite (B)	വിധവയുടെ കാശ്.
without reservation	കലവറ കൂടാതെ.
wolf in sheep's clothing (B)	ആട്ടിൻ തൊലിയുള്ള ചെന്നായ്.
writing on the wall (B)	ചുവരിലെഴുത്ത്.

2. *Idioms under trial*

Augean stable	ഓ (ഈ) ജിയൻ തൊഴുത്ത
back-bencher	പിൻ ബെഞ്ചുകാരൻ.
back-door influence	പുറം വാതിലൂടെയുള്ള സ്വാധീനം.
born with a silver spoon in his mouth	ചുണ്ടിൽ വെള്ളിക്കരണ്ടിയുമായി പിറക്കുക.
bull in a china shop	ചൈനാക്കടയിൽ കയറിയ ഉരി കാളൻ.
crow flies (as the)	കാക്ക പറക്കും പോലെ
cry over spilt milk (to)	ഒഴിയ (പിരിഞ്ഞ) പാലിനെ ക്കുറിച്ചു കരയുക.
eleventh hour	പതിനൊന്നാം മണി.
evening of life	ജീവിതസായാഹ്നം.
feather in the cap	തൊപ്പിയിൽ ഒരു തൂവൽക്കൂടെ.
fight tooth and nail (to)	പല്ലും നഖവുംകൊണ്ടു നേരിടുക.
give the devil his due (to)	ചേകത്താന് അതിന്റെ പങ്കു കൊടുക്കുക.
keep the wolf from the door	ചെന്നായെ വീട്ടുവാതിലിൽ നിന്നു അകറ്റുക.
lip service	അധരവ്യായാമം.
live in a glass house (to)	കണ്ണാടി മാളികയിൽ കഴിയുക.
make both ends meet (to)	രണ്ടറ്റവും കൂട്ടിമുട്ടിക്കുക.
masterpiece	നായകശില്പം.

(B)—Biblical expression

nerve-centre	സിരാകേന്ദ്രം.
paper tiger	കടലാസ്സു പുലി.
place all cards before (to)	എല്ലാശീട്ടുകളും മുമ്പിൽ വയ്ക്കുക.
take-off stage	ടെയിക് ഓഫ് നില.
take shape	രൂപം കൊള്ളുക
thorn in the flesh (B)	ശരീരത്തിൽ മുള്ള്
tiptop	ടിപ്പിൽ.
turn the corner (to)	അപകടസന്ധി കടക്കുക
wage freeze	വേതനം (കൂലി) മരവിപ്പിക്കുക.

3. *Idioms that are likely to have come out of Western influence*

behind the curtain	തിരശ്ശീലയ്ക്കു പിന്നിൽ.
bird's-eye view (a)	വിഹഗവീക്ഷണം.
book-worm	പുസ്തകപ്പുഴു
jaundiced eye (a)	[illegible] കാണുന്നതല്ല.
let the cat out of the bag (to)	പൂച്ച (ചാക്കിൽനിന്നു്) പുറത്തു ചാടുക.
lick someone's shoes (to)	ചെരിപ്പു നക്കുക
look a gift horse[1] in the mouth (to)	ദാനംകിട്ടിയ പശുവിന്റെ പല്ലു നോക്കുക.
nip in the bud (to)	കുരുന്നിലെ നുള്ളുക.
shoulder to shoulder	തോളോടു് തോളുരുമ്മി.
take root (to)	വേരറയ്ക്കുക
warp and woof	ഊടും പാവും.

[1] Instead of the 'horse', 'cow' is used.

APPENDIX C

NOVELS AND SHORT STORIES TRANSLATED FROM WESTERN LANGUAGES

ENGLISH

Author	*Title*	*Translated Title(s)*	*Translator(s)*
Arora, Shirley Lease	What Then Rama?	Pinneyō Rama (1963)	Bhaskaran Nair, P.I
Buck, Pearl S.	The Good Earth	Nalla Bhumi (1953)	Kesavan Nair & M. P. S. Nair,
Butenschon, A.	The Life of a Mogul Princess	Jahanara (1965)	Satyarthi, M. N.
Caine T. H. H.	Barbed Wire	Kampivelikal (1962)	Divakaran Potti, E. K.
	Barbed Wire	Mullu Veli (1962)	Rama Variyar, P. V.
Carroll M. G.	The Strangers	Rahasyam (1959)	Muttathu Varki
Cather, Willa S.	Death Comes for the Archbishop	Maṅṅu Peyunna Rattikal (1958)	Joseph Mattam
Chang, E.	The Rice Sprout Song	Vayaṟiṅte Puranam (1956)	Thomas, P. J.
Corelli, M.	Barabbas	Barabas (1955)	Parettu, Z. M.
Costain, T. B.	The Silver Chalice	Rajata Caṣakam (1955)	Tharakan, K. M.
Crane, Stephen	The Red Badge of Courage	Dhīratayude Śonamudra (1960)	Krishna Pillai, T. N.
Dickens, Charles	Hard Times	Ārttanadam (1954)	Sankarayyar, D.
Douglas, Lloyd C.	The Robe	Melaṅki (1956)	Cheriyan, P. I.

Author	*Title*	*Translated Title(s)*	*Translator(s)*
Doyle, Arthur Conan	The Lost World	Poypōya Lōkam (1952)	Narayana Pillai, S.
	Rodney Stone	Aṅujaṅṅ'e Antakaṅ (1960)	Gopalan Nair, K. N.
	Sherlock Holmes series		Ramakrishnan, Malayattoor.
	The Valley of Fear	Bhītiyuḍe Tāḷvara (1964)	Mathew Luke.
	Short Stories	(1959)	Ramakrishnan, Malayattoor
Eliot, George	Janet's Repentance	Jāṅeṭṭinte Mānasantaram (1958)	Jacob, K.
Fast, Howard	Freedom Road	(1956)	Nambudiri, K. P. G.
Forbes, Kathryn	Mama's Bank Account	Ammayuṭe Bānk Nikṣēpam (1956)	Gopinathan Nair, M.
Goldsmith, Oliver	The Vicar of Wakefield	Wakefieldilē Vikāri (1956)	Damodaran, P. K.
Hardy, Thomas	Tess	Tess	Annie Thayyil
Hemingway, Ernest	The Old Man and the Sea	Kizhavanum Kaṭalum (1956)	Paul, Xavier & Thomas, N. G.
Hawthorne	The House of Seven Gables	Eḷu Kettukaluḷḷa Vīdu (1967)	Saratkumar, P. K.
Jordan, Grace	Home Below Hell's Canyon	Tāḷvarayilē Vīḍu (1956)	Varki, Mattathu
Kay, Theresa	A Crown of Ashes	Meriyanna (1959)	Parameswaran Nair, K.
London, Jack	The Call of the Wild	Kāṭiṅṅte Viḷi (1959)	Chacko, V. C.
	Select Stories	Cerukathakaḷ (1956)	Madhavan Nair, M. K.
MacInnes, Helen	Neither Five nor Three	Aṇcum Mūnnum Alla (1960)	Gopi, N.
Melville, Herman	Moby Dick	Moby Dick (1962)	Paul, Xavier
Meredith, George	The Ordeal of Richard Feverel	Richard Feverel (1961)	Sankara Variyar, S.
Mitchison, Naomi	Judy and Lakshmi	Jūdiyṁ Laksmiyum (1963)	Venniyoor, E. M. J.

Orczy, Baroness	A Child of the Revolution	Viplavattinte Saṅtati (1966)	Luke Mathew
Orwell, George	Animal Farm	Ānimal Farm (1956)	Rosie, M. R.
Parkman, Francis	The Oregon Trail	Origan Giripathain (1966)	Devasya, P. C.
Poe, Edgar Allan	Short Stories	Detective Dupin (1960)	Kamath, P. G.
Potter, Beatrice	The Tale of Peter the Rabbit	Chiṅṅaṅ Muyal (1959)	Gomati Amma, K.
Rawlings, M. K.	The Yearling	Mankuṭṭi (1956)	Nambudiripad, M. C.
Reynolds, G. W. M.		Laila (1960)	Madhavan Pillai, C.
Reynolds, Gertrude	The Girl from Nowhere	Ajnatabalika (1958)	Nilakantan, B.
Richter, Conrad	The Trees	Maraṅṅalum Manusvarum (1957)	Varki, Muttathu
Rinehart, Mary Roberts	The Circular Staircase	Cuttu Koni (1960)	Madhavan Nair, C.
Robertson, Frank C.	Cruel Winds of Winter	Siliya (1959)	Paulose, P. V.
Robinson Henry Morton	The Cardinal	Cardinal (1962)	Mattam, Joseph
Rose, Anna Perrott	The Gentle House	Santabhavaṅam (1956)	Govinda Pillai, P. K.
Routley, Cecily Marianne	The Wonderful Picture	Citrabhumiyilekku oru Yatra (1965)	Kaimal, K. N.
Saroyan, William	The Human Comedy	Human comedy (1958)	Padmavati, K. C.
	My Name is Aram	Ente per Aram (1965)	Purshothaman, E. K.
Schaefer, Jack	The Pioneers	Tokkum Kutirayum (1962)	Kodugangallore, K. A.
	Shane	Shane (1962)	Vijayaraghavan, K.
Scott, Walter	Kenilworth	Kenilworth	Manorama (Pub.)
Seligman, Hilda	When Peacocks Called	Mayura Kahala Kalam (1952)	Sukumaran, K.
Shelley, Mary	Frankenstein	Pretamanusyan 1959)	Narayana Pillai, M. R.
Sinclair, Upton	Damaged Goods	Takarnna Jivitaṅṅal (1951)	Surendran, K.
	The Jungle	Jangil (1959)	Narayanan, V. C.

Author	*Title*	*Translated Title(s)*	*Translator(s)*
Spilman, Joseph	A Victim to the Seal of Confession	Kolayum Kumpasaravum (1961)	Kesavan, N.
Steinbeck, John	Junius Maltby	Junius Maltby (1957) ..	Sankara Menon, K. P.
	The Pearl	Muttu (1962)	Purushothaman, E. K.
	The Red Pony	Cuvanna Kuttra (1956) ..	Sankara Menon, K. P.
	Of Mice and Men	Manusyanum Elikalum (1960) ..	Rama Varier P. V.
Stevenson, R. L. ..	Treasure Island	Sampadvipu (1960) ..	Velayudham, P. V.
Stoker, Bram	Dracula	Dracula (1962)	Ramakrishnan, K. V.
Twain, Mark	The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn	Huckleberry Finninte Vikramannal (1967) ..	Sukumar, Azhikode
Twain, Mark	Tom Sowyer	Tom Sowyer	—

FRENCH

Balzac, Honore de ..	Adieu	Vitavannal (1957)	Chandran, T. S.
	Eugenie Grandet	Ezheni Grande (1958) ..	Luke, Mathew
	Honorine	Honorine (1957)	Thomas, K. J.
	La Pere Goriot	Kilavan Gorio (1959) ..	Luke, Mathew
	La Femme Abandonnee ..	Verukkappetathaval (1956)	Krishna Pillai, T. N.
Bruller, Jean	Le Silence de la Mer ..	Iruttakkuka (1946) ..	Madhavan, A.
Dumas, Alexander, Pere ..	The Count of Monte Cristo	Monte Cristo (1952) ..	Joseph, Annie
	The Three Musketeers ..	Munnu Poralikal (1957) ..	Joseph, Annie
Dumas, Alexandre, fils ..	Les Deux Dianes	Diana (1961)	Paul, Xavier
Flaubert, Gustave ..	Madame Bovary ..	Madam Bovary (1962) ..	Paul, Xavier

	Madame Bovary	Pranayarangam (1948)	Elayatu, N. N.
France, Anatole	Thais	Thayis (1949)	Divakaran, A.
Gide, Andre	La Porte Étroite	Ituñniya Vatil (1957)	Joseph, O. P.
Hugo, Victor	Gallows	Kalumaram (1956)	Divakaran Potti, E. K.
	Les Misérables	Pavanñal (1933)	Narayana Menon, Nalappat
	The Hunchback of Notre Dame	Notre Damile Kuñan (1957)	Sankara Variyar, Venmani
	Ninety-three	Thonnutti Munnu (1957)	Karunakara Menon, E
Maupassant, Guy de		Asa (1961)	Thanatra, J. X.
		Purohitan (1953)	Matasseri
	Boule de Suif	Taticca Vesya (1943)	Matasseri
	La Petite Rogue	Kurukkan Kottayile Mayor (1960)	Sivaraj
	Our Hearts	Nammute Hridayannal (1957)	Robert, A. S.
	Une Vie	Oru Striyute Jivitam (1941)	Balakrishna Pillai, A.
	Yvette	Yvette (1962)	Ramakrishnan, Kalat
	Nine collections of short stories	by various translators.	
Sand, George, *psend.*	La Petite Fadette	Mayakkari (1959)	Krishna Pillai, T. N.
Verne, Jules	Around the World in Eighty Days	Loka Prayanam (1959)	Rajan, C. M.
Voltaire	Candide	Candide (1947)	Madhavan, A.
	Zadig	Zadig (1945)	Kuzhiveli, M.
		Babilonile Rajakumari (Short Stories) (1945)	Madhavan, A.
Zola, Emile		Oru nisayile Pranayalahari (1960)	Krishna Pillai, T. N.

Author	*Title*	*Translated Title(s)*	*Translator(s)*
		Pranaya Vidya (1965)	Sridharan, K. P.
	Dramshop	Madyaśala (1958)	Krishna Pillai, T. N.
	La Bête Humaine (The Human Beast)	Manusyamrigam (1958)	Gopalan Nair, K. N.
	La Honte (Shame)	Kalamkam (1957)	Krishna Pillai, T. N.
	La Terre (The Earth)	Bhumi (1964)	Raghavan, P.
	The Miller's Daughter	Millerute Makal (1958)	Nambudiri, D. C.
	Therese Raquin	Terissa (1958)	Bhasi, Matavoor
Nine French Stories		Onpatu French Kathakal (1947)	Balakrishna Pillai, A.

GERMAN

Apitz, Bruno	Nacht unter Wolfen	Cennaykkalkkitayil (1967)	Subhadra Parameswaran.
	Seven Short Stories	Elu German Kathakal (1949)	Krishna Wariyar, N. V.
Frank, Leonhard		Pranaya Choran (1948)	Narayana Pillai, M. R.
	Carl and Anna	Annayum Karalum (1951)	Divakaran Potti, E. K.
Goethe, J. W.	The Sorrows of Werther (E)	Vertarude Dukham (1958)	Venniyoor, E. M. J.
Hesse, Hermann	Siddhartha	Siddharttan (1957)	Kunhikrishna Menon, P.
Kafka, Franz	Die Verwandlung (The Metamorphosis)	Rupantaraprapti (1961)	Shanmukhadas, M.
Seghers, Anna	A Prize on His Head (E)	Avante Talaykkoru Sammanam (1961)	Subhadra Parameswaran,
Wassermann, Jakob	Adam Urbas	Adam Urbas (1959)	Balakrishna Pillai, A.
Zweig, Stefan	Amok	Atmabali (1965)	Srinivasan, K.

	Breifeiner Unbakannten ..	Antyalikhitam (1961) ..	Srinivasan, K.
	Breifeiner Unbakannten ..	Neelattaṭṭavum Velutta pūkkaḷum (1959) ..	Achuthan, M.

RUSSIAN

	Six Russian Short stories..	Āṛu Russian Kathakaḷ (1946)	Narayanan Nair, N. P.
Antonov, Aegei	Alyona	Alyona (1966)	
Beck, A. A, ...	Volokolamskoe Sosse ..	Volakolamsku Highway (1963)	Saraswati, S.
Chekhov, Anton Pavlovich ..	The Steppe	Steppe (1954)	Sriman Nambudiri, D.
	The Duel	Dvandvayuddham (1960) ..	Viswambharan, V. K.
	Ward No. 6	Āṛām Number Wārd (1957)	Krishna Pillai, T. N.
	Tri Goda	Mūnnu Varṣam (1958) ..	Kodungallore, K. A.
	Two short-story collections.		
Dostoyevsky, Fedor	An unpleasant Predicament	Vallatta Pollāppu (1963) ..	Damodaran, N. K.
	Bednge Lindi (Poor Folk)	Pavappeṭṭavar (1959) ..	Krishna Pilla, T. N.
	The Brothers Karamazov.	Karamazōv Sahōdaranmār (1960)	Damodaran, N. K.
	Crime and Punishment ..	Kuṭṭavum Sikṣayum (1956)	Karunakara Menon, Edappally
	The Idiot	Iḍiyaṭṭu (1966)	Karunakara Menon, Edappally
	The Insulted and the Injured.	Ninditarum Pīḍhitarum (1957)	Damodaran, N. K.
Dudintzev, Vladimir ..	A New Year's Tale (E) ..	Oru Tuḷḷi Veḷiccam (1962) ..	Kunhikrishnan, T. V.
Ehrenburg, Ilya		Simhapṛatima (1949) ..	Induchudan, V. T.
	The Thaw	Maññurukunnu (1957) ..	Raman Menon, P.
Fedev, Alexander	The Route (E)	Pinmāṭṭam (1963) ..	Ragahavan Pillai, P.

(E)—Indicates the title in the popular English version

Author	*Title*	*Translated Title(s)*	*Translator(s)*
Gogol, Nikolai Vasilievich ..	The Overcoat	Overcoat (1959)	Krishna Pilla, T. N.
	Taras Bulba	Taras Bulba (1959) ..	Krishna Pilla, T. N.
	Zapiski (Diary of a Madman)	Oru Bhrantante Davari (1958)	Shanmukhadas, M.
Gorky, Maxim	Chelkash	Chelkkasu (1951) ..	Padmam, K. P.
	Shazki ob Itali (Tales of Italy)	Italiyile Kathakal (1952) (One more translation of the same title)	Narayana Pillai, K. S.
		January Onpatu (1952) ..	Thomas, C. J.
	Creatures that Once Were Men (E)	Manusyappujukkal (1945).	Madhavan, A.
	Mother (E)	Amma (1945). (One more translation of the same title)	Manalikkara, K. V.
	Three collections of short stories		
Gouzenko, Igor	Fall of a Titan (E) ..	Bhimante Patanam (1956)	Gopala Pillai and Palakki A.
Gulia, G. D.	Springtime in Saken ..	Vasanta Kalannal (1962) ..	Rama Kumar, B.
Hippius, Z.		Āppil Pūmottu (1957) ..	Balakrishna Pillai, A.
Kazakevich, E.	Blue Notebook (E) ..	Nilanottu Pustakam (1963).	Govinda Kurup, C.
Kim, R. N.	Girl From Hiroshima (E).	Hirōsimayute Makal (1957).	Vallat, George
Kuprin, Alexander	Yama (The Pit) ..	Russyayile Veśyakal (1957).	Rama Variyar, P. V.
Kuznetzov, A. V.	Sequel to a Legend (E)	Navothanam (1962) ..	Nayar, T. K. G.
Mamin—Sibriyak	Short stories	Achante Kamuki (1958) ..	Devaraj Pai
Narokov, N.	Chains of Fear (E) ..	Bhayattinte Cannala (1957).	Guptan, C. K. A.
Nasov, N. N.	Vesalaja Semejika ..	Santusta Kudumbam (1959)	Pottekad, D. M.

Ostrovski, Nikolai	How the Steel Was Tempered (E)	Vīṇṭum Jīvitattilekku (1962)	Subhadra Parameswaran.
Pasternak, Boris	Doctor Zhivago ..	Doctor Shivago (1960) ..	Varki, Muttathu
Paustovski, K.	Zolotaja Yoza (The Golden Rose)	Suvarṇa Kusumam (1963) ..	Gopalan Sushila
Pogodin, N. F.	Kremliovskiye kuranty (The Kremlin Chimes)	Maṇimuḷakkam (1963) ..	Subhadra Parameswaran.
Polevoi, Boris	A Story about a Real Man (E)	Oru Yāthārtha Maṅuṣyaṅte Katha (1960)	Subhadra Parameswaran.
Prishvin, Mikhail	The Sun's Store House (E).	Kaṅakabhūmi (1957) ..	Raman Nair, C. I.
Pushkin, Alexander Sergeyevich.	Dubrovski	Dubrovisky (1956) ..	Nambudiri, K. P. G.
	The Captain's Daughter ..	Kāptaṅte Pūṭṛi (1956) ..	Umayanallur
	The Queen of Spades ..	Ispēḍu Rāṇi (1958) ..	Shanmukham, K.
Sholokhov, Mikhael	The Don Flows Home to the Sea (E)	Dōṇ Samudrattilēkku Taṅṅe Oḷnukunnu (1965)	Luke, Mathew
	Tikhi Don (Quiet Flows the Don)	Dōṇ Śāntamāyoḷukunnu (1957)	Luke, Mathew
	Fate of a Man (E) ..	Oru Maṅuṣaṅte vidhi (1958).	
Solshenitsin, Alexander ..	One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich	Ivāṅ Denisōvichiṅte Jīvitattil oru divasam (1963)	Aravindakshan, V.
Solovev, Mikhael	When the Gods are Silent.	Raktam Viḷanja Bhūmi (1960).	Mattam, Joseph
Tendriakov, Vladimir, F. ..	Son-in-law	Marumakaṅ (1962)	Subhadra Parameswaran.
Tolstoy, Leo Nikolayevich ..	Polikki	Polikki (1966)	Raju
	Anna Karenina ..	Anna Karaṇiṅa (1953) ..	Joseph, Annie
	Kazaki	Kossākkukaḷ (1958) ..	Joseph, O. P.
	Kreutzer Sonata ..	Kreutzer Zonata (1949) ..	Govinda Kurup, C.
	Resurrection (E) ..	Uyirtteḷunēlppu (1951) ..	Govinda Kurup, C.

(E)—Indicates the title in the popular English version

Author	*Title*	*Translated Title(s)*	*Translator(s)*
	Semej Noe Scastie ..	Sukhattinte Piravi (1957) ..	Nambudiri, D. N.
	Smert Ivan Ilicit ..	Ivan Ilicciṅte Maraṇam (1958)	Mohan, G. B.
	War and Peace (E) ..	Yuddhavum Samadhanavum (1958)	Karunakara Menon, Edappally
	Three collections of short stories		
Turgenev, Ivan Sergeevich ..	Rudin	Rūdin (1959)	Thomas, K. J.
	Asya	Asaya (1956)	Divakaran Potti, E. K.
	A Nest of Gentlefolk ..	Verpaṭum Vedanayum (1958)	Kesavan, K. N.
	First Love	Ādya Premam (1957) ..	Damodaran, P.
		Faust (1959)	Shamsudin, P.
	Mumu	Mumu (1957)	Balakrishnan Nair, M. N.
	Nakanune	Paṭivatilkkal (1960) ..	Chandrasekharan, M. R.
	Fathers and Sons (E) ..	Pithakkanmarum Putranmarum (1959)	Kunhikrishnan, P.
	Torrents of Spring (E) ..	Vasanta Pravahannal (1960).	Chandrasekharan Nair, K.

(E)—Indicates the title in the popular English version

APPENDIX D

LIST OF SOME OF THE IMPORTANT WESTERN PLAYS WHICH HAVE COME INTO MALAYALAM EITHER BY TRANSLATION OR BY ADAPTATION

ENGLISH

Author	*Title*	*Translated Title(s)*	*Translator(s)*
Galsworthy, John	The Silver Box	Velli Deppi (1954)	Manalikkara, K. V.
Sayers, D. L.	Kings in Judea	Pulkkuṭṭile Punya Śisu (1962)	Philip, Mammen
Shakespeare	Antony and Cleopatra	Antoniyum Cleopatrayum (1967)	Kumara Pillai, Kainikkara
	Hamlet	Hamlet (about 1902)	Govinda Pillai, A.
	Hamlet	Hamlet Naṭakam (1897)	Kunjikuttan Thampuran, K.
	Hamlet	Hamlet (1923)	Kuriyan, M. K.
	Hamlet	Hamlet (1923)	Varki, A. J.
	Hamlet	Hamlet (1955)	Venkiteswaran, P. S.
	Julius Caesar	Julius Caesar (1953)	Nair, P. S.
	King Lear	Lear Naṭakam (1897)	Govinda Pillai, A.
	King Lear	Lear Rajavu (1959)	Panikkar, K. M.
	Macbeth	Macbeth (1962)	Ramakrishna Pillai, K.
	Macbeth	Macbeth (1962)	Madhava Varier, Matasseri
	Comedy of Errors	Vibhrama Vilasam (1906)	Paramu Pillai, K.
	The Merchant of Venice	Venicile Vyapari (1902)	Govinda Pillai, A.

Author	*Title*	*Translated Title(s)*	*Translator(s)*
	The Merchant of Venice ..	Venicile Vyapari (1955) ..	Venkiteswaran, P. S.
	A Midsummer Night's Dream	Vasantikasvapnam (1907) ..	Krishna Wariyar
	A Midsummer Night's Dream	Vicitravipinam (1938) ..	Narayana Pillai, P. K.
	A Midsummer Night's Dream	Madhya Grismakala Ratriyile oru Swapnam (1966)	Madhava Varier, Matasseri
	A Midsummer Night's Dream	Oru Swapnam . ..	Paramu Pillai, K.
	Othello	Avivekattilundaya Appattu (1903)	Pappu Pillai, K.
	Othello	Othello (1951)	Nair, M. R.
	Othello	Othello (1966)	Parameswaran Pillai, V. N.
	Othello	Premahomam (1932) ..	Veluppilla Sastri
	Othello	Uddalacaritam (1922) ..	Anujan Raja, P. C.
	Othello	Duranta dussanka (1931) ..	Kumara Pillai, Kainikkara
	Romeo and Juliet ..	Jvalarati Raja Kumaran (1916)	Anantan Nair, T. V.
	Richard II	Richard Simham (1938) ..	Narayana Menon, Varavur
	Twelfth Night ..	Mahampole Mangalyam (1919)	Thomas, C. P.
	Twelfth Night ..	Dvadasa Nisa (1954) ..	Kochunni Menon, K.
	The Taming of the Shrew	Kalahinidamanakam (1893).	Varghese Mappillai, Kandathil
Sheridan, Richard	Pizarro	Abalapolum (1957) ..	Abraham, S.
Wilde, Oscar	The Importance of Being Earnest	Earnest (1960)	Kodungallore, K. A.

	Lady Windermere's Fan	Viśari (1960)	Vasu E.
	Salome	Pratikaram (2nd ed. 1960)	Alexander, K. J.
	Salome	Salome (1960)	Venniyoor, E. M. J.

FRENCH

Maeterlinck, Maurice	Two one-act plays	Marikkanum Pirakkanum Peti (1958)	Sankara Kurup, G.
Molière	L'Avare (The Miser)	Lubdhan (1953)	Paul, M. P.
	Tartuffe	Upadesiyar (1961)	Sukumaran, K.
	Tartuffe	Tartuff (1962)	Gupta Nair, S.
	The Bourgeois Gentleman	Ranta Bursua Maṅṅayanma (in *Rantu Natakangal*, 1962)	Gupta Nair, S.

GREEK

Aeschylus	Prometheus Bound	Prometheus (1957)	Nayar, S. K.
Aristophanes	The Frogs	Tavalakal (1964)	Venniyoor, E. M. J.
	Lysistrata	Lusistrata (1961)	Thomas, C. J.
Euripides	Alcestis	Patidevata (1959)	Nayar, S. K.
	Alcestis	Alcestis	Sasidharan, K. P.
	Hippolytus	Hippolytus (1959)	Kuzhiveli, Mathew
	The Trojan Women	Trōjan Strikal (1966)	Raman Nair, N.
	Medea	Medea	Puthusseri, R.
Sophocles	Antigone	Antigone (1955)	Thomas, C. J.
	Antigone	Antigone (1955)	Panikkar, K. M.
	Electra	Electra (1957)	Panikkar, K. M.
	Oedipus Rex	Oedipus (1957)	Panikkar, K. M.
	Oedipus Rex	Oedipus (1963)	Menon, P. K.

Author	*Title*	*Translated Title(s)*	*Translator(s)*
	OTHER LANGUAGES		
Pirandello, Luigi		Ōmanakal (1954)	Balakrishna Pillai, A.
Ibsen, Henrik	Ghosts	Pretanmal (1935)	Balakrishna Pillai, A. and A. K. G. Pillai
	Ghosts	Bhutam (1956)	Thomas, C. J.
	The Pillars of Society	Samudayattinte Nedum Tunukal (1954)	Variyar, M. I.
	The Master Builder	Rajasilpi (1966)	Ramachandran Nair, K
	The Vikings of Helgeland.	Vīrayoddhakkal Helgalandil (1962)	Meenakshi Amma, K.
	The Wild Duck	Kaṭṭu Taravu (1947)	Kovoor, E. M.
	A Doll's House	Pavayute Veedu (1954)	Kovoor, E. M.
Chekhov, Anton	The Bear	Karati (1954)	Changampuzha
	The Three Sisters	Munnu Sahodarimar (1947)	Abdul Qadir, Vakkam
	On the High Road	Peruvaliyil (1961)	Chandran, P. R.
	The Proposal	Vivahalōcana (1951)	Changampuzha
	The Proposal	Sambandhalochana (1945)	Kesava Pillai, M. G
Gogol, N. V.	The Inspector-General	Inspector-General (1957)	Asokan
Gorky, Maxim	The Lower Depths	Atittattukal (1954)	Damodaran, N. K.
	Enemies	Satrukkal (1952)	Nair Pottayil, N. G
Tolstoy, Leo	The Power of Darkness	Tamaśakti (1955)	Damodaran, N. K.

There are also collections of short plays such as the following :

Anou Lakhunatakanmal, translated by S. Guptan Nair.

It consists of : (1) The Bishop's Candlesticks, McKinnel ; (2) Riders to the Sea, Synge ; (3) The Bear, Chekhov ; (4) Before Breakfast, O'Neill ; and (5) No Smoking, Benevanto.

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